Daily Report

East Europe

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

FBIS-EEU-95-120
Thursday
22 June 1995

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-120 *22 June 1995*

CONTENTS

NOTICE: This volume contains a representative selection of material previously disseminated in softcopy format.

ALBANIA

Migrant Workers in Greece Face 'Risk of Death' *[REPUBLIKA 20 Jun]* 1
Dokle Discusses Imprisonment of Party Leader Nano *[KOHA JONE 20 Jun]* 1
Conference on Foreign Investment Planned *[KOHA JONE 21 Jun]* 2
State Assumes Portion of Joint Enterprises *[KOHA JONE 20 Jun]* 3

BULGARIA

Bulgarians Said Fighting for Serbs in Bosnia *[TRUD 19 Jun]* 4
NAA Delegation Leader on 'Rose-Roth' Conference *[DUMA 17 Jun]* 4
Zhelev Visit to Kurdzhali Seen as Self-Promoting *[DUMA 19 Jun]* 5
Commentary Analyzes BSP 'Power Struggle' *[168 CHASA 19-25 Jun]* 6
Nikolov Condemns Videnov's 'Totalitarian Style' *[DEMOKRATSIYA 19 Jun]* 7

CZECH REPUBLIC

Poll Puts ODA Under Margin for Parliament Entry *[LIDOVE NOVINY 20 Jun]* 8
GS Head Says Errors Made in Army Transformation *[LIDOVE NOVINY 16 Jun]* 8

SLOVAKIA

Meciar, Kozlik Discuss Results of Ukraine Visit *[Editorial Report]* 10
Spokesman Previews 7 Jul Tripartite Meeting *[Bratislava Radio]* 11
Bill on 'Strategic Companies' Detailed *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 20 Jun]* 11
Comment: 'Unfamiliar Path' of Privatization Concept *[RESPEKT 19-25 Jun]* 13

HUNGARY

Horn on Obstacles to Basic Treaty With Romania *[Budapest Radio]* 15
Keleti, Tinca Ask U.S. To Improve Defense Ties *[Budapest Radio]* 15
Horn, Opposition Leader on Parliamentary Walkout *[Budapest Radio]* 15
Keleti Discusses Army Financing, Reorganization *[Budapest Radio]* 17
Bokros Discusses Budget, Economic Development *[NEPSZAVA 21 Jun]* 18

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Silajdzic: No-Fly Zone Threatened *[Sarajevo Radio]* 20
Kljuic, French Ambassador Discuss Fighting *[Sarajevo Radio]* 20
SGV's Pejanovic Predicts FRY Recognition *[LJILJAN 14 Jun]* 20
Omersoftic on SDA, Relations With Government *[DANI Jun]* 24
Serb Group Blames Tudjman, Milosevic for War *[NASA BORBA 17-18 Jun]* 28
Humanitarian Situation in Bihac 'Critical' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 28
Radio Reports Continued Inter-Muslim Clashes *[TANJUG]* 29
Army Morale 'High,' Serb Situation 'Tense' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 29
Belgrade Paper: Carter To Resume Mediation *[TELEGRAF 21 Jun]* 30
Karadzic Views UN Hostage Issue *[Editorial Report]* 30
Krajisnik Comments on Churkin, Bildt Visits *[NASA BORBA 22 Jun]* 30
Serbs To Proceed Against Medical Draft Dodgers *[SRNA]* 31
Serb TV Commentary Praises Antiair Defenses *[Banja Luka TV]* 31

CROATIA

Spokesman Rejects Conditions for Resuming Talks *[AFP]* 33
Presidential Official Meets Stoltenberg, Bildt *[Zagreb Radio]* 33
Zubak Requests Clarification of RRF Role *[Zagreb Radio]* 33
New Ministers, Deputy Prime Minister Appointed *[Zagreb TV]* 33
Collapse of Dubrovnik Economy Reported *[Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT 1 Jun]* 34

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Gligorov Addresses WEU on Human Rights, Greece *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 21 Jun]* 35
Gligorov Calls Meeting With Chirac Cordial *[Skopje Radio]* 39
Bocinov Ends Official Visit to Czech Republic *[MIC]* 39
Improvements in Electrical Energy System *[THE MACEDONIAN TIMES Mar]* 39

POLAND

Polish-Israeli Statement on Jankowski's Sermon *[PAP]* 42
Wojciechowski Elected Chamber of Control Head *[PAP]* 42
Okonski Reprimands Generals for Statements *[PAP]* 42
Sejm Drafts Law on National Defense Minister *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 21 Jun]* 43
Parties Debate Sejm Secret Services Commission *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 21 Jun]* 43
Prime Minister Encourages Foreign Investment *[PAP]* 43
Status of German Investment Analyzed *[GAZETA POZNANSKA 7 Jun]* 44
Army Seeks To Tighten Lithuanian Air Border *[TRYBUNA SLASKA 6 Jun]* 45
Walesa Defends Independence of Public TV *[Warsaw Radio]* 45
Walesa Discusses Presidential Election *[Warsaw TV]* 46
OBOP Poll Ranks Presidential Candidates *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 20 Jun]* 46
Daily Compares Two Jun Presidential Polls *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 21 Jun]* 47
Rightists To Participate in Church 'Primaries' *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 21 Jun]* 48

ROMANIA

Funar Warns About Proposals to Hungarian Treaty *[ADEVARUL 19 Jun]* 49
FDGR Protests Senate's Draft Education Bill *[TINERETUL LIBER 17-18 Jun]* 49
ZIUA Staff Reportedly Receiving Death Threats *[TINERETUL LIBER 17-18 Jun]* 49

SLOVENIA

Kucan Views EU Issue, Relations With Italy *[Milan IL SOLE-24 ORE 21 Jun]* 50
Establishment of Defense Headquarters Reported *[DELO 16 Jun]* 51

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

FRY, Bulgarian Ministers Survey Balkan Issues *[TANJUG]* 52
Urge Lifting of Sanctions *[TANJUG]* 53
Jovanovic Views Trip to Israel, Jordan, Egypt *[Belgrade TV]* 53
TANJUG Issues Annual Editorial Policy *[TANJUG]* 53
Army Receives New Antiarmor Systems *[VOJSKA 25 May]* 54

Serbia

Milosevic To Receive UN, EU Mediators *[AFP]* 56
Renewed Peace Dialogue Sought *[TANJUG]* 57
Milosevic, ICRC President Urge Revived Peace *[TANJUG]* 57

Montenegro

Deputy Parliamentary Speaker Dismissed *[TANJUG]* 57

Kosovo

ICRC Personnel Visit Albanian Prisoners *[AFP]* 57
Trials of Policemen Resume in Pristina, Prizren *[Editorial Report]* 58
Serb Management Cuts Water Supplies to Pristina *[Editorial Report]* 58

Migrant Workers in Greece Face 'Risk of Death'

AU2106131495 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 20 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Mentor Balo: "208 Albanians Dead on Greek Soil"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The number of Albanians dying on Greek territory has now reached 208. The most recent case has been the macabre murder last Sunday morning [18 June] of three Albanian citizens in the village of Kalpac near Ioannina, 30 kilometers from Kakavije. Greek soldiers fired a hail of automatic rifle bullets into the cabin of a refrigerator truck with a Mallakaster license plate, leaving dead the driver and his two passengers, all from the town of Ballsh. The Greek television station Antena I carried this macabre report several times in its Sunday news broadcasts. Thus, our 180,000 emigrants to Greece, of whom only 5 percent have been legalized, include a number of unpublicized victims who have lost their lives somewhere between our borders and the shores of Egypt, where the Greek islands end. This list of victims began in the time of our former Albanian rulers at the beginning of the nineties, when the state ordered those attempting to cross the wire into Greece to be fired upon. Later, roles were switched, and it is now Greek soldiers who kill, torture, and perform humiliating physical experiments on Albanian refugees, down to the most recent incident. The life of Albanian refugees in Greece thus has its black side. There have been no reports about what happened at Kalpac the day before yesterday. Albanians are killed by soldiers' bullets. Silence. They die from the bullets of the police. Silence.

The five years of Albanian emigration to Greece, besides the badly paid work and loud but never realized promises of legalization, have also involved the risk of death.

Dokle Discusses Imprisonment of Party Leader Nano

AU2106135195 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 20 Jun 95 p 3

[Interview with Socialist Party Deputy Chairman Namik Dokle by Elio Elini; place and date not given; "Dokle: We Did Not Expect a Positive Decision"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Elini] Mr. Dokle, what do you make of the decision of the Tepelene Court to continue to hold your leader in prison?

[Dokle] We did not expect a positive decision from Tepelene, because important decisions are not made in Tepelene. We expected a realistic and humane message from Europe to finally sink into the demented minds of the political regime that has held Fatos Nano hostage for so long. Nevertheless, I will not prejudge further verdicts of the courts, because this case could be passed on to two more judicial levels, even though there is always talk about enforcing the changes in the new Penal Code. As for Fatos Nano's innocence, that is a separate problem. It is the principal issue on which we will continually insist, because there is indisputable proof that Fatos Nano is innocent. There is indisputable proof that Fatos Nano was imprisoned on the political instruction of Sali Berisha. There is indisputable proof that Fatos Nano is being held in prison to strike at the Socialist Party [PS]. We as a party are at the same time looking at indisputable proof that shows that the eyes of all Albanians have been opened to what the rule of Berisha's regime symbolizes, what its democratic words and antidemocratic actions mean, and how its invocations of God compare with the diabolical behavior of the state under Berisha's direction.

[Elini] It is thought that Albania will be admitted to the Council of Europe on 29 June. Do you think that Nano's detention in prison will influence any "negative measure" against Albania on the part of the Europeans?

[Dokle] Albania's admission to the Council of Europe is one of the best opportunities Fatos Nano has. It is one of the best chances of Fatos Nano being released. This is because the Council of Europe, when it admits a country, in fact takes up the defense of the opposition against any possible antidemocratic measure of the state raised against it and against its leaders. The fact is that the Council of Europe's referees who have submitted Albania's admission to the Parliamentary Assembly have requested Fatos Nano's release, either by means of a review of the trial or a presidential pardon, on condition that Nano is not prevented from participating in political life. This shows that the Council of Europe remains disturbed over the Nano case and that Albania's admission to the Council of Europe presupposes the appearance of special new factors for Nano's release. It seems that the wise politicians of the Council of Europe, understanding Berisha's highly unwise determination to keep Fatos Nano in prison, have determined to undertake such a step to achieve, through Albania's admission to the Council, a solution to such important problems facing the country as the drafting of the constitution, the independence of the judiciary, the release of Fatos Nano, and many other problems. In this context, I see Albania's admission to the Council of Europe as very positive, not simply because it will exert an influence on Nano's release, but because it means that Albania will be obliged to meet Europe's democratic standards.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Elini] What do you think you will do in the future for your leader's release from prison?

[Dokle] We have undergone every kind of disappointment. We have seen the illegal behavior of the presiding judge of the Tepelene Court, who unfairly did not register the request of the prison administration, even though he was obliged to do this. We also know the reference number of the document sent by the prison administration to the court; however, the Tepelene judge, who is not protecting justice, but protecting himself and the regime that appointed him a judge after a six-month training course, failed to follow the legal procedure, but sent all the documentation to the Justice Ministry and received an order not to register it. Thus, Document 178 of the prison administration was not registered, and we are now taking legal action ourselves to demand that it be done. We want to follow this verdict of the regime to the end and find out what stand the political regime will take. The facts show that it is exhausting its resources, and this process began at the Tepelene court. Let them continue if they like. Those who are determined to hold Nano hostage have lost, because for the people they are sliding into oblivion.

Conference on Foreign Investment Planned

AU2206094295 Lezhe KOHA JONE in Albanian 21 Jun 95 p 11

[Article by Milto Baka, including an interview with Edmond Leka, acting director of the Department of Economic Development and Foreign Aid Coordination; place and date of interview not given: "Foreign Investment in Albania—Idea or Reality?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Albanian Government gave birth to the idea, and asked the financial assistance of G-24 and the EU in order to organize a conference to be held before the end of June.

The aim is to change, at least to some extent, Albania's image in Europe and to display the real state of development compared with the years of 1991 and 1992, i.e., to show foreign investors how the domestic situation has evolved as measured by such significant indicators as political stability, macroeconomic stability, the economic climate, the infrastructure within which business will be conducted, and the legal framework for administrative and bureaucratic procedures. Massive privatization will also start in Albania: The experience of the countries of the East shows that this is a basis to attract foreign investors. This has made it even more necessary to organize a conference with broad international attendance.

More Participants in the Conference Than Invitations

The conference will be held in the Hotel Tirana, and there have been many applications to attend. This has required the extension and reorganization of the hall. A second location with closed-circuit television has also been made necessary. Applications to attend are still arriving. Among the participants that have confirmed their arrival are Erikson, ABB, Snaidero, Alcatel, British Petroleum, etc. Firms and organizations that are already established in Albania are taking part, as are others that intend to establish themselves, but are still at the stage of study and preparation.

The conference, therefore, aims more to stimulate debate than to be a protocol conference about the future of foreign investment in Albania. It is worth mentioning the attendance of leading banks such as the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the European Investment Bank. Chambers of commerce and industry from many countries that will perform a role in publicizing the prospects for Albanian investments will also be present.

How Will Albania Present Itself at This Conference?

The program of macroeconomic development has produced a decline in inflation to 16 percent in 1994, and an increase of gross national product of 11 percent in 1993 and 7.4 percent in 1994. This growth is a consequence of the development of the private sector, too. Albania is preparing for the mass privatization of about 1,000 enterprises through bonds. It has long been clear to everybody that the future of economic development is connected to strengthening cooperation with international financial institutions and organizations and with private donors and partners.

[Box, p 11]

Priority Areas Under the Care of the Government

[Baka] What are the duties of the Department of Economic Development and Foreign Aid Coordination under the Council of Ministers?

[Leka] The department's task is to coordinate the domestic and foreign finance that goes to support development projects that are connected with the economic infrastructure (transportation, energy, water supply, etc.) and the social infrastructure (health, education, etc.).

The department has prepared a program of public investment that, alongside the strategy of investment for every sector, includes a list of the government's priority projects in each of these sectors. These outline the use

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

of budgetary finds for the years concerned, the foreign finance obtained for the same projects, and the foreign finance that will also be necessary for their completion.

[Baka] What are the priority fields for the future of the investment sector?

[Leka] It must be stressed that a significant priority has been given first to investment in the economic infrastructure, involving transportation projects such as the Tirana-Durres highway, the north-south corridor, the east-west corridor, and the rural road project. Also included are Telekom's telecommunications projects, rural telephones, the infrastructures of the ports of Durres and Vlore, and water supplies for Tirana, Kavaje, Shkoder, etc. This important field of the economy will receive about 60 percent of the investments to be made in 1995 and there will be increasing tenders throughout the period until the end of the century.

Priority has also been given to supporting the embryonic phase of private business in Albania, and this will assume an even greater importance in the years to come in cooperation with foreign donors such as the United States, the EU, the World Bank, Germany, and Italy, which have begun to realize different projects whose aim is to give credit support to private Albanian investors in production and services.

An important element in the policy for the support of private investments is the creation of industrial zones. The advantage of these zones is that a relatively small investment can create conditions for the development of private business within a short time. This is the idea behind the development of the industrial zone of Durres in cooperation with the European Investment Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the Italian-Albanian Bank.

[Baka] Where is the aid that Albania receives from foreign donors concentrated, and what will be done with it in the future?

[Leka] In the years 1991-93, the aid given to Albania by foreign donors was directed mainly to covering emergency needs in food and humanitarian support.

Since 1994, after the emergency phase was put behind us, the government has been directing this aid toward development projects. In 1995, about 60 percent of foreign aid, i.e., about $160 million, will be invested in development projects, especially in infrastructure, health, education, etc. This tendency will become more pronounced in future years, and the proportion will exceed 70 percent. A considerable proportion of aid will be used as technical assistance in order to support the reform of the public administration, creating new legislation, and creating capacities for the planning and management of large projects of the Public Investment Program. Our aim is to create within the country the competence and capacity to enable us to undertake and manage large-scale projects.

State Assumes Portion of Joint Enterprises

AU2106130295 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 20 Jun 95 p 11

[Article by Gjergj Pilika: "Joint Enterprises Find Their True Owner"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Albanian portions of joint enterprises with foreign capital have finally ended up in the hands of the state. The government has now decided that the foreign partner and not the owner of the land has the right of first purchase of the state's share. This practice is based on the Civil Code and the Law Transforming State Enterprises Into Commercial Companies. In order to achieve this goal, these enterprises, of which more than 100 exist nationwide, will be owned exclusively by the Finance Ministry until they are privatized. So far, sometimes the local government, sometimes the relevant ministry, and sometimes the courts have unsuccessfully played this role. Meanwhile, the National Privatization Agency will prepare and administer the procedure for the privatization of the Albanian portion of these enterprises. This is a simplified procedure, because minimal asset valuations will be drawn up on the basis of these enterprises' operations hitherto.

Publicized since 1991 as the future salvation of the Albanian economy, joint venture enterprises have sprouted like mushrooms after rain. They were first quickly created in agriculture, where cheap labor and the existence of an immediate resource in the shape of land were encouraging factors. Now, only two of the 24 such enterprises so far created are still operating. In many of these cases, the Albanian state has even been obliged to go to international courts, and will be obliged to resort to these courts again, in order to solve conflicts with its foreign partner. The statutes founding the enterprises provided for obligations of this kind. Problems involving the forcible seizure of the land by local peasants and many failures to perform contracts have made the work of these enterprises unproductive, even leading to significant losses for the Albanian state.

Joint enterprises in other sectors have similarly failed to shine, and 30-40 percent of them no longer operate. It has been the lack of clarity in the law and the lack of an answer to the question of who is the exclusive owner of these enterprises that have mainly led to this situation. Now there is only one answer: the state.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Bulgarians Said Fighting for Serbs in Bosnia

AU2206130195 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 19 Jun 95 p 5

[Article by Nevyana Troyanska: "One Thousand Bulgarian Volunteers Are Fighting for Bosnian Serbs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Djordje Ilic, member of the Serb Democratic Party, said at a news conference in Varna that about 1,000 Bulgarian volunteers are fighting in Bosnia on the side of the Serbs.

Mr. Ilic pointed out that the Bulgarians are fighting without being paid. Together with 7,000 Russians and 1,000 Greeks, these Bulgarians are serving in the most elite units of the Serb army.

There are Bulgarians also fighting on the side of the Muslims in Bosnia, but they receive DM2,000 per month.

Djordje Ilic and Andrea Spasic, adviser to Radovan Karadzic, visited Varna within the framework of their visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the All-People Committee on the Defense of National Interests. They said that one of their tasks is to negotiate on the establishment of a representation in Sofia of the Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Such representations have already opened in Moscow, Athens, Nicosia, and Belgrade. Zhan Videnov has been officially invited to visit the Srpska republic.

According to Djordje Ilic and Andrea Spasic, the war in Bosnia will end by the end of the year, because the 1996 elections in Russia and the United States will accelerate developments. However, if this does not happen, the Serb army has enough reserves to continue to fight indefinitely.

NAA Delegation Leader on 'Rose-Roth' Conference

AU2206080795 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 17 Jun 95 p 3

[Interview with Ivan Gaytandzhiev, head of the Bulgarian delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly, by Tanya Geneva; place and date not given: "'Rose-Roth' Conference Was Success for Bulgaria"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Geneva] How do you assess the North Atlantic Assembly [NAA] "Rose-Roth" Conference that was held recently in Sofia?

[Gaytandzhiev] I am convinced that the forum was constructive, useful, and successful both for the NAA guests and the Bulgarian hosts. The "Rose-Roth" Conferences are a unique stage in the efforts aimed at constructing the new European security structure. The conference's topic—"Regional Stability and Security—the Bulgarian Position"—and the fact that the conference was held in Sofia prove that the NAA is deeply interested in the Balkan region's problems.

[Geneva] How did the guests accept the Bulgarian position on the situation in the Balkans?

[Gaytandzhiev] I think that as hosts we should be pleased with the speech of Karsten Voigt, NAA president, at the National Assembly, where he highly assessed Bulgaria's Balkan foreign policy. I also hope that after the discussions and talks our NAA guests understood one of the main goals of our policy in the region—asserting European standards of behavior in relations among Balkan states. Strengthening cooperation, security, stability, and confidence in the peninsula have great importance and are closely connected with our national interests.

The government's determined striving, expressed by Prime Minister Videnov and Foreign Minister Pirinski, to revive all-Balkan cooperation, as well as Bulgaria's numerous regional initiatives in this context, were greeted with understanding. I think that it was not by accident that, during the two days he spent in Sofia, Karsten Voigt repeatedly stressed the great importance of bilateral treaties on cooperation and goodneighborly relations that Bulgaria signed with the other Balkan states, as well as our position on the neighboring countries' noninterference in the conflict in former Yugoslavia and on strictly observing our international commitments.

Generally, the "Rose-Roth" Conference, combined with Karsten Voigt's official visit to Bulgaria, demonstrated that Bulgaria strives toward and adheres to conducting an active dialogue with the main European and Euro-Atlantic structures and constructing a new European security structure through cooperation.

[Geneva] It appears that the Bulgarian observers were much more interested in whether there would be something new "on the NATO issue," rather than in the general discussion. Has anything been said that could make an decisive contribution to the public discussion related to our eventual membership in NATO?

[Gaytandzhiev] The interest is natural. Even before the conference opened, it was clear that its importance stems from the fact that the debates will encompass the topical issue of the eventual expansion of NATO and ensuing challenges for the new world political reality. Therefore, I said on the conference's first day that the "Rose-Roth" Conference is a unique precursor to the Partnership for Peace initiative, as an element of the necessary dialogue and efforts aimed at seeking security guarantees.

I would also allow myself to repeat what I said at the conference's opening. We fully understand that NATO's

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

expansion depends, first of all, on the interests of NATO member countries. In practice Bulgaria demonstrated through its relations with the NATO member countries in the region, its balanced policy in the Balkans, and its peaceful transition toward democracy, that it is ready to travel its share of the road. We note with satisfaction NATO's decision to work out conditions and criteria of its expansion, as well as the methods whereby it will assume its new responsibilities for security on the continent.

The Bulgarian position: That we follow NATO's discussion with interest and support the tendencies of transformation and evolution, was repeated at the conference. After we become acquainted with the conditions and criteria we are to be offered, we will adopt the necessary actions in accordance with our national interests.

An important factor that emerged during the discussion is the fact that at present there is no consensus in NATO on the issue of its expansion. For the time being this continues to be a general political wish, rather than a specific action plan. For example, some of our enthusiastic supporters of the "NATO here and now" thesis were rather shocked by the speech of Mr. Yunal Chevikyoz [name as transliterated]. He simply said that contrary to certain erroneous opinions there is no schedule, timetable, or list of states that would be admitted to NATO. The case of every state will be decided separately, and not as a part of any group.

It became clear also at this forum that there still is no uniform opinion about when new states will be admitted to NATO. You probably understood the optimism of NAA President Karsten Voigt, and also sensed the different opinion of the representatives of "NATO bureaucracy," as he called them.

The Bulgarian adherents to the theory that an immediate declaration must be issued on our desire to join NATO got a rather clear hint that stressed that, although NATO welcomes all political declarations, it nevertheless will give unconditional priority to objective indices. Furthermore, they also were to understand that issuing political signals is not the most important thing. It is much more important to present realistic arguments and motives related to our eventual admission to NATO and are supported by national dignity, as well as proof of our ability to assume the serious responsibility related to our eventual NATO membership.

Zhelev Visit to Kurdzhali Seen as Self-Promoting

AU2106184995 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Jun 95 p 7

[Commentary by Radka Petrova: "Zhelev Stopped Over in Kurdzhali"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The president visited Kurdzhali. He met the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] mayors, deputies, and administrators, participated in an ostensibly improvised meeting with the city's elite, travelled to Tikhomir, Mogilyane, Benkovski, and Momchilgrad, and spent some time with the common folk.

According to the president's advisers he came to eastern Rhodopes because they had established that the local population trusts only Zhelev. According to Zhelev himself, his visit has been solely prompted by his deep concern with the systematic depopulation of the region and its grave economic problems. According to diplomats and political observers, the visit has been closely related to the upcoming visit of Turkish President Suleyman Demirel to Sofia.

The truth is that the president only headed for Kurdzhali because of his own interest. His two-day trip was intended to produce at least three positive consequences for Zhelev.

The first was to improve his image, demonstrating unusual concern with the situation in a strategic border region. It is well known that the president does not have any prerogatives to implement the requests of the local population. He cannot find jobs for them and cannot build mosques. However, he can make promises, while simultaneously explaining how disinterested the executive power is in those subjects. And indeed he did that.

The second positive result Zhelev intended to prompt was to ascertain whether it is possible to have one's cake and eat it too; in other words, whether there is a real chance of uniting the opposition. It is well known that it is impossible to create a united opposition without the DPS, which actually controls eastern Rhodopes. The president's flirtation with the DPS is aimed at making Dogan's people believe that it is possible to attack the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] at the upcoming municipal elections only by creating a united and real opposition. Communiques form no opposition and win no elections. However, it is impossible to suggest to the DPS that it is about to get a new chance without a communique. Whether Dogan's people would bite is a different issue.

The ostensible support for Zhelev that DPS members in Mogilyane, Momchilgrad, and Benkovski expressed, is

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

treacherous and could become a trap for the president. This is so because at a very confidential conversation during the visit Zhelev said that his chance lies in the unification of the opposition with equal participation by the DPS. The DPS deflated the president's deepest designs, and returned the ball to him with the hint that without haggling there is no deal. Indeed, the haggling is the trap. This is where the more cunning one will prevail.

The third positive consequence intended by Zhelev is related to his desire to obtain a third presidential mandate. It is true that the president is very careful not to say anything on this issue. He declines to answer even hinted questions and prudently avoids the journalists. Zhelev came to the DPS fortress, ignored the Bulgarians, and paid his respects to the DPS because he wanted to understand whether the Turks would vote for him in the next elections.

The direct message of the Benkovski meeting, where he was given to understand that the DPS would vote for him, should not calm, but rather alert him. For the time being there is no intention on the part of the DPS headquarters to say the same. If Zhelev has not understood this after his trip to Kurdzhali, it means that he is far away from real politics, precisely as far away as his advisers are who reached the conclusion that the people in eastern Rhodopes trust only the president.

Commentary Analyzes BSP 'Power Struggle'

AU2206131595 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian 19-25 Jun pp 11, 14

[Commentary by Karmelita Deneva: "Zhan's People Hold the Keys, but Do They Really Rule?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Georgi Purvanov, the scandals around the election of the heads of the State Savings Bank and "Topenergy" will not cause any commotion at the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] conference in July. Over the last three years there has been a major power struggle at Positano Street [BSP headquarters]. There are almost none of Lilov's or Lukanov's people at the top of the BSP. According to the new administrative division of power in the party, Lilov's Strategic Center will become a small scientific unit. The primacy in the scientific thinking will belong to a foundation headed by Purvanov. The BSP Executive Bureau has formed a special group on strategic analyses, forecasts, and initiatives, headed by Valentin Vatsev.

Yanaki Stoilov, Lilov's best pupil, is Videnov's deputy without any real power within the BSP leadership. Aleksandur Marinov made another attempt or two to rally around himself those who disagree with Lilov, but failed. For the time being, he is deputy chairman of the Democratic Left parliamentary faction and conducts an active social life. Despite his burning desire and suitable looks, Nikolay Kamov did not become foreign minister. The leadership of the National Assembly Foreign Policy Commission is his consolation prize.

Among Lilov's proteges, Petya Shopova and Aleksandur Tomov (who at certain periods definitely gravitated toward Lukanov's group) are in the most desperate situation. According to a rumor going around the Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD], Tomov's Civic Alliance for the Republic [GOR] was conceived by the strategist [Lilov] and the idea had been born at painter Svetlin Rusev's studio. And everyone knows how the GOR drama ended.

The OSD tried to become the second center of power and counterbalance Videnov's Executive Bureau. However, where is it now? For the time being, the exemplary student Pirinski best grasped the situation in the corridors of power. So far he does not conduct a "low-profile foreign policy"—for which he had been appointed to this post by Videnov. The prime minister does not like this. Relations between Videnov and Pirinski already recall those between Filip Dimitrov and Stoyan Ganev [respectively, prime minister and foreign minister in the Union of Democratic Forces government] in the past. The prime minister has even warned Pirinski not to imitate Ganev and to refrain from making too many unnecessary trips abroad.

Nora Ananieva—Lukanov's "secret submarine"—has received the sinecure of National Assembly deputy chairperson and has also remained outside the main game.

Today Zhan's people occupy the key basic positions in the red government. Videnov is prime minister and BSP leader, Premyanov is head of the Democratic Left parliamentary faction, Konakchiev is deputy prime minister, and Purvanov has been designated to head the BSP when Videnov is absent.

However, do they indeed rule? The first more serious tremor in the team emerged during the voting on the chairman of the State Saving Bank—this is if we ignore the scandal between the parliamentary faction and the cabinet about the shock increase in electricity prices at the beginning of February. The greatest problems are in the executive power. While Videnov expelled his enemies one after another from key positions in the BSP, they sought revenge and penetrated into the executive.

It is no secret that Zhan formed his cabinet while listening to the old apparat members, simply because he could not orient himself in the mechanism of state power. After Lukanov and, to a lesser degree, Lilov had

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

succeeded in placing people whom they preferred in the cabinet, the ministers in their turn did the same in the lower strata of government.

All this might have continued in this spirit of discreet revenge, had Videnov not received a tremendous slap from the establishment of "Topenergy" behind his back. Thus the former prime minister [Lukanov] told the incumbent prime minister that he is not actually ruling the state. In desperation, Zhan did something original. He utilized as his weapon against Lukanov the former Lukanov's man, Deputy Prime Minister Tsochev. In addition, the cabinet succeeded in reaching agreement with "Gasprom" so that the Bulgarian side will be represented on the "Topenergy" Administrative Board by representatives of ministries and departments, rather than by people who do not represent any official bodies. Thus a question mark was created even above Lukanov's post at "Topenergy."

In five months as prime minister, Videnov succeeded in attracting only a few collaborators and surprises are imminent. People close to the prime minister maintain that he constantly works on forming his own network of staff and supporters. This could really be so, if one considers Tsochev's role in the battle for the Russian natural gas. Changes in the cabinet will be the first sign that would indicate that Videnov has recuperated. If he succeeds in dismissing those who were recommended to him in a way that he could not resist, then he will stand a chance of repeating his glorious period when he purged the BSP. If he fails, the executive branch and his own party will destroy him.

Nikolov Condemns Videnov's 'Totalitarian Style'

AU2106202295 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 19 Jun 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Nedko Petrov: "Videnov's Aide Accuses Him of Issuing Dictate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 18 June, Plamen Nikolov, the parliamentary secretary of the Council of Ministers who was fired on 30 May, talked to journalists and accused Prime Minister Videnov, his former boss, of having a totalitarian style and method of leadership. Mr. Nikolov made his statement after two-week efforts to meet and talk with the prime minister about the motives behind his dismissal. So far Videnov has not explained Nikolov's dismissal, despite the fact that he, himself, invited Nikolov to assume his former post on 1 March. The former secretary of the prime minister pointed to the forced voting on the budget in the National Assembly as an example of the prime minister ignoring different opinions and adopting authoritarian decisions.

According to Mr. Nikolov, Videnov did not take into consideration any remarks by chairmen of parliamentary commissions, by deputies of the Democratic Left parliamentary faction, and from experts' opinions. He eliminated any attempt to develop a discussion on the budget, which remains an important issue for the entire country.

According to him, the prime minister is acting in the same manner on all serious national issues and, most of all, in discussing issues of national security. Mr. Nikolov was also impressed by Videnov's inconsistency on the issue of our admission to NATO. The related discussions have often been utilized as a bartering tool in Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] relations with other political forces, and in Sofia's relations with Belgrade and Moscow. The former secretary pointed to the chaos surrounding the voting on the 26 May 1995 declaration regarding the consensus on our membership to NATO as another example of coercing the National Assembly majority. Despite the fact that he did not name the participants of the conversation he overheard, Nikolov, nevertheless, quoted the remarkable sentence: "Twist their arms, but they must vote as they are told to!" If one is to judge by the party hierarchy, the sentence was uttered by Zhan Videnov to Krasimir Premyanov, head of the BSP parliamentary faction. Plamen Nikolov thinks that Videnov and Premyanov are two peas in a pod. The former parliamentary secretary appealed to the BSP deputies to topple Premyanov, because they have already stripped him of their confidence, and continue to hide their dissatisfaction with him only due to party discipline.

Nikolov has received overt threats and veiled hints from party members, who have implied that he should not dare reveal anything related to BSP's "kitchen problems" at the highest level. Nevertheless, he promised new revelations if the leaders implicate him in relations with economic groups, or "financial abuses" at GISDI [expansion unknown], where he used to work.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Poll Puts ODA Under Margin for Parliament Entry

AU2206064295 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 20 Jun 95 p 3

[Article by Ladislav Jakl: "ODA Has Dipped Under 5 Percent"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA], for the first time since the last parliamentary elections, has not achieved the critical margin of 5 percent of support consistent with the voter endorsement necessary for entry into the Chamber of Deputies.

This is apparent from the results of the June poll conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research. The Alliance got 6.5 percent of support in May and 4.5 percent in June. On the other hand, the social democrats achieved a historic record—22 percent (19.5 percent in May). The Civic Democratic Party [ODS] still enjoys most support from the voters. Compared with May, support for it has gone up by two percentage points to 27 percent in June. The Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL] got 6 percent (5 percent in May) and the communists got 7 percent (6 percent in May).

Apart from ODA, the Republicans and the Left Bloc (3 percent) were also just under the 5-percent threshold. The other parties obtained results within the margin of statistical error. Support for all parties during the last eight months was relatively stable; a marked trend is only noticeable for ODA (downward) and the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD] (upward). Last November, the two parties achieved 12-percent support.

Of the groups monitored by the poll, people with a university education (50 percent), businessmen (45 percent), West Bohemians (37 percent), other employees (34 percent), citizens of Prague (33 percent), respondents in the 30-to-44-year-old age group (32 percent), and those living in cities with a population of more than 100,000 (31 percent) would—to an above-average extent—vote for the ODS. The social democrats score most among respondents with a school graduation certificate (30 percent) and people over age 45 (26 percent). Pensioners (19 percent) and North Moravians and people in communities with a population of 2,000-5,000 (14 percent) most often support the communists.

If citizens were to vote in harmony with this poll, the Chamber of Deputies would look approximately as follows: The ODS would get 87 seats, the CSSD 71 seats;,the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] 23 seats, and the KDU-CSL 19 seats. The current coalition would get 106 seats, which is the fewest in the electoral period. The coalition scored its best results in January and March 1994 (a hypothetical 146 seats). Apart from last November (115 seats), it always had, according to a STEM poll, a "claim" to more than 120 mandates, which is the number necessary for the approval of a constitutional law.

Trends in Electoral Support

	Oct 94	Dec 94	Feb 95	Apr 95	Jun 95
	Percent				
ODS	25	27	30	27	27
ODA	10	10	9	8	4.5
CSSD	13	12	13	17	22
KDU-CSL	6	7	7	7	6
KSCM	5.5	7	7	8	7

GS Head Says Errors Made in Army Transformation

AU2106201695 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 16 Jun 95 p 24

[Article by Jan Gazdik: "The Army Has a Scenario for Entry Into NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Czech Army, in its transformation into a modern, relatively small, but proficient corps, has made many errors. Chief of the General Staff [GS] Jiri Nekvasil makes no secret of this but refuses to specify them. He also did not say how much the Army command's mistakes have cost taxpayers.

"I would not say that they are mistakes," explained the major general. According to him, the situation in the Army three years ago was incomparably more complicated than it is now. The essential things that

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

the former Army command was striving for were often, apparently, the maximum achievable. "Everyone is a general after the battle," says the major general. Despite this, however, he is haunted in his dreams to this day by the hasty departure from Bechyne Air Base, which had state-of-the-art equipment and, from the point of view of the country's defense, was in the most advantageous location. "It was a gross error," concedes Nekvasil. However, it is impossible to take it back. He thinks that the Army's return to Bechyne would partially mitigate this blunder. This, however, would not involve the Air Force. The general does not want, at the halfway point, to cast doubt on achieving targets by making changes. "It may sound harsh, but I consider maintaining the strategic course to be more important." The general thinks it is worth "sacrificing the foot soldiers" for the sake of a victorious battle.

Jiri Nekvasil is convinced that the Alliance does not judge the Czech Army by its partial, albeit burning, difficulties. It is mainly interested in whether the corps of generals respects the country's political leadership and does not blackmail it by making constant demands for an increase in the Army's budget. According to Nekvasil, it is adhering to its scenario for gradual harmonization with NATO standards—whether this involves preparing the commanders, operational planning, or modernizing the hardware. The general refuses, however, to say when the Czech Army could be ready to join the Alliance (he declared in September 1993 that the Czech Republic will be ready to join NATO by the year 2000 at the earliest). Now he is saying that, as a soldier, he does not want to specify when the Czech Republic should or should not join NATO. He merely added that the General Staff is taking all of the steps necessary to ensure that, when the political decision is made, the Army does not act as a brake on the Czech Republic's entry into the Alliance.

Nekvasil points out that modernization will swallow up 120 billion korunas before 2005. In the Czech Army's incorporation into the Alliance, however, he ascribes a greater role to the commanders' linguistic and professional preparation and also to renewing the communications, command, and control systems.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Meciar, Kozlik Discuss Results of Ukraine Visit
AU2206063695

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 16 June on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,000-word report by Pavol Vitko entitled "Opening of Ukrainian Doors." The report, which deals with the second and last day of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's visit to Ukraine, includes Prime Minister Meciar's and Deputy Prime Minister Kozlik's replies to Vitko's questions about agreements reached during their talks in Kiev. Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 17 June on pages 1 and 5 carries a 1,000-word interview with Vladimir Meciar by Jozef Janto entitled "The Government Will Establish Conditions for Bustling Trade; Businessmen Must Give Them Specific Shape." In the interview, which Meciar gave to the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia daily after his return home, the prime minister discusses the results of his visit to Ukraine.

Replying to a question from the PRAVDA correspondent, Deputy Prime Minister Kozlik admits that, contrary to original plans, no agreement on the prevention of double taxation was signed during Meciar's visit to Kiev, noting that "certain minor corrections must yet be incorporated into the agreement, which we did not have time to harmonize." However, Kozlik does not view this as a "failure" and is confident that the agreement will be signed during Ukrainian Prime Minister Marchuk's forthcoming visit to Slovakia. "One of the most significant successes of the visit," according to Kozlik, is the "preliminary agreement" that, "as soon as the Slovak koruna becomes convertible, it will become the accounting unit on the current account in Slovak-Ukrainian trade relations. We hope this will come off and that we will introduce this system as of 1 October of this year." Although this preliminary agreement "is not yet on paper," Kozlik says, "it can mean a significant strengthening of our koruna."

Prime Minister Meciar explains to the PRAVDA correspondent the system of settling mutual claims that he discussed with his Ukrainian counterpart: "'There exist unsettled mutual claims between Slovakia, Ukraine, and Turkmenistan. Following our talks with the Ukrainian partners, there exists a realistic chance of mutually settling those claims,' Prime Minister Meciar told us. The rough outlines of this system are such that Slovakia will supply consumer goods to Turkmenistan, and Turkmenistan will reduce by this amount its claims against Ukraine (and will continue supplying, above all, natural gas to Ukraine, for which Ukraine has been unable to pay). The last link of this operation, provided that this agreement is realized, would be Ukraine. In the first phase, it would build four vessels for Slovakia. 'Something similar could be realized, in conjunction with gas transit, also in a quadrangle among Ukraine, Russia, Turkmenistan, and Slovakia,' the prime minister added. We asked the prime minister whether he also discussed with his Ukrainian partners the issue of visa-free travel between the two states. 'No, definitely not,' the prime minister assured us."

Asked by SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA about the "main results" of the Slovak Government delegation's official visit to Ukraine, Meciar says: "This was the first ever official visit by a Slovak prime minister to Ukraine and, at the same time, the first visit received by the newly appointed prime minister, Yevheniy Marchuk. We examined the causes of the decline in the mutual exchange of goods, which continued also in 1993 and has reached its nadir. But, at the same time, we tried to chart a program of how to continue in the sphere of establishing a contractual basis in conformity with the market model. The finishing touches will still have to be given to this program this year to pave the way for mutual settlement and payments and for the capital market—that is, for the settlement not only of goods, but also for the direct transfer of investments and for our participation in the privatization in Ukraine and vice versa. Furthermore, we established a new model of market cooperation on a bilateral and multilateral basis—that is, within the framework of a triangle or quadrangle, which would permit more efficient cooperation with other countries as well. And we also dealt with the issue of possible investments, which could be very helpful in the future. The Ukrainian side was interested in our experience from the implementation of our reforms, from the viewpoint of their pace and methods because they, too, are tackling similar problems."

In the next portion of the interview, Meciar discusses specific cooperation projects. The interviewer asks Meciar to be more specific about some issues, such as cooperation in the matter of border crossings, cooperation between companies, or questions related to the conveyance of gas. Meciar replies:

"As far as conveyance of gas is concerned, we noted that we have missed the boat somewhat as the new gas pipeline is beginning to lead via Belarus and Poland. We have missed it but we can still catch up. We noted, furthermore, that cooperation ties between the East Slovak Ironworks and Ukrainian mines can take various forms. We proposed as one of the forms of mutual relations the privatization by the East Slovak Ironworks of a part of the Krivoy Rog iron ore mine so that the ironworks have a guarantee of continuous deliveries. We also discussed the extension of operating hours of the Ubla border crossing to 24 hours, the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

improvement of discipline and permeability of the Vysne Nemecke border crossing and its modernization, the opening of a new border crossing at Matejovce, and the completion of work at Cierna nad Tisou. All of these are urgent projects, the tasks have been assigned, and I am confident that they will be fulfilled. Of course, the fact must be considered that members of the government will be replaced in Ukraine in the days to come. But the tasks have been assigned and accepted, particularly by the prime minister's secretariat."

In his remaining replies, Meciar discusses his meetings with representatives of the "Slovak Diaspora" in Ukraine, the importance of building new roads and modernizing rail links between the two countries, and the need for the "activation" of Slovak businessmen so that the intentions laid down by the two governments are given "specific shape."

Spokesman Previews 7 Jul Tripartite Meeting

LD2106175295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Ministry spokesman Juraj Matejovsky has provided more specific information about the tripartite meeting of Austrian, Hungarian, and Slovak prime ministers due to take place in the Austrian town of Rust on the Neusiedler lake on 7 July.

He said that the entire preparations for the prime ministers' tripartite meeting have shown absolutely clearly that the meeting should send positive signals for good-neighborly cooperation among Austria, Slovakia, and Hungary. That is why controversial issues such as nuclear power stations and national minorities will not be on the agenda. Instead, the meeting will focus on issues of regional, security, and border cooperation.

Matejovsky noted that a report by the Austrian agency APA, which said that the participation of our prime minister in this meeting is still uncertain, is misleading.

Bill on 'Strategic Companies' Detailed

AU2206102895 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 20 Jun 95 p 6

[Report "prepared by 'stk'": "In the Interest of a Balanced and Stable Development of Society, the Law Will Protect State Interests in the Privatization of Strategically Important Companies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In its policy statement, the Slovak Government declared that, in the interest of a balanced and stable development of society, it will define state interests in the privatization of strategic companies. The gas industry, the power-generating industry, and other companies that are important from the viewpoint of economic strategy were meant. In its policy statement, the government also defined the method of guaranteeing interests of the state, from the viewpoint of its social and economic strategy, in the privatization of important state companies and joint-stock companies with a major property stake held by the state or the National Property Fund [FNM] of the Slovak Republic. In selected companies of strategic significance, the government will entrust the execution of ownership rights and duties to the appropriate founding ministry.

Principles of the Bill

At its meeting on Tuesday, 6 June, the Slovak Government approved the bill with comments. The bill is based on three principles:

1. State companies that are particularly important from the viewpoint of state strategy will be excluded from privatization completely. These are state companies from the gas industry, the power-generating industry, post, telecommunications, arms production, general engineering, the pharmaceutical industry, agriculture, and forest and water economy, all of which are itemized in the bill. In addition to these companies, state property administered by the Slovak Railroads representing the railway track must not be privatized, either. This property is of special importance from the viewpoint of economic development, security, and the defense capability of the state. The sources of, and distribution networks for, electricity and crude oil are also particularly important from this viewpoint. This is why state or, respectively, FNM influence will be permanently retained in companies that have a decisive or exclusive position or that are natural monopolies in these branches of the economy of the Slovak Republic. In other words, the shares of Slovenske Elektrarne [Slovak Power Company] and Transpetrol must not be privatized. The FNM will secure the transfer of the execution of its ownership rights and duties to the founding central body of state administration (ministry).

In the interest of preserving the raw material basis of the wood-processing industry, a healthy genetic forest stock, and quality of the environment, and in view of the strategic economic as well as ecological importance of forests, forest land administered by state companies has also been excluded from privatization. This does not apply to the compensation of eligible persons' claims under Law No. 229 of 1991.

2. The second principle concerns the demand for the preservation of permanent state influence in joint-stock companies that came into being through the transformation of state companies. Likewise, state influence is to be secured in joint-stock companies, in which the FNM

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

of the Slovak Republic is an important shareholder. The execution of the FNM's rights and duties will be transferred to the appropriate central body of state administration that was the company's founder. This allows the central body (ministry) to assert the interests and strategic plans of the state, particularly during voting at shareholders' meetings.

3. The third intention of the law is to secure permanent state influence also in those corporations in which the state does not or will not have an important property stake, if these corporations play an important role in the economic and social strategy of the state. The intention is to privatize as much state property as possible, while retaining the state's decisive influence on company management in matters of strategic importance. The maintenance and assertion of this state influence will be made possible through primary shares [kmenove akcie], which will entail special voting rights at meetings of company shareholders.

Excluded Companies and Corporations

Under the law on the conditions of transfer of state property to other persons, state-owned property administered by state enterprises in the following branches must not be subject to privatization.

Gas Industry and Power Generating Industry

1. Slovensky Plynarensky Priemysel [Slovak Gas Industry] state enterprise [s.p.] Bratislava

2. Zapadoslovenske Energeticke Zavody [West Slovak Energy Works] s.p. Bratislava

3. Stredoslovenske Energeticke Zavody [Central Slovak Energy Works] s.p. Zilina

4. Vychodoslovenske Energeticke Zavody [East Slovak Energy Works] s.p. Kosice

Post and Telecommunications

1. Slovenska Posta [Slovak Post] s.p. Bratislava

2. Slovenske Telekomunikacie [Slovak Telecommunications] s.p. Bratislava

Arms Production and General Engineering

1. ZTS [Heavy Engineering Works] s.p. Dubnica nad Vahom

2. ZTS TEES s.p. Martin

3. ZVS [General Engineering Works] s.p. Dubnica nad Vahom

4. Konstrukta-Defence s.p. Trencin

5. Konstrukta-Industry s.p. Trencin

6. State Mint s.p. Kremnica

Pharmaceutical Industry

Imuna s.p. Sarisske Michalany

Agriculture, Forest and Water Economy

1. Lesopolnohospodarsky Majetok s.p. Ulic

2. Narodny Zrebcin [National Stud Farm] s.p. Topolcianky

3. Zapadoslovenske Lesy [West Slovak Forests] s.p. Bratislava

4. Stredoslovenske Lesy [Central Slovak Forests] s.p. Banska Bystrica

5. Severoslovenske Lesy [North Slovak Forests] s.p. Zilina

6. Vychodoslovenske Lesy [East Slovak Forests] s.p. Kosice

7. Semenoles s.p. Liptovsky Hradok

8. Povodie Dunaja [Danube River Basin] s.p. Bratislava

9. Povodie Vahu [Vah River Basin] s.p. Piestany

10. Povodie Hronu [Hron River Basin] s.p. Banska Bystrica

11. Povodie Bodrogu a Hornadu [Bodrog and Hornad River Basin] s.p. Kosice

12. Vodohospodarska Vystavba [Water Management Construction] s.p. Bratislava

Railroads

The railway track of Slovak Railroads must not be subject to privatization.

Transpetrol

Shares of the Transpetrol joint-stock company [a.s.] Bratislava and Slovenske Elektrarne [Slovak Energy Works] a.s. Bratislava that are held or owned by the state or the FNM must not be subject to privatization.

Forest Land

Forest land administered by state forest management enterprises must not be subject to privatization under the law on the conditions of transfer of state property to other persons, unless settlement of claims under special regulations is concerned.

Oil, Mining, Metallurgy

Strategically important s.p.'s and a.s.'s are:

1. Nafta Gbely a.s. Gbely

2. Hornonitrianske Bane [Upper Nitra Valley Mines] s.p. Prievidza

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

3. Dolina Mine a.s. Velky Krtis

4. VSZ [East Slovak Iron Works] a.s. Kosice

5. Zavody SNP [Slovak National Uprising Works] a.s. Ziar nad Hronom

Nonore Raw Materials

Solivary [Salt Mines] a.s. Presov

Engineering

1. Povazske Strojarne [Vah Valley Engineering Works] a.s. Povazska Bystrica

2. Calex Zlate Moravce a.s.

3. Podpolianske Strojarne [Sub-Polana Engineering Works] s.p. Detva

4. ZTS Hrinovske Strojarne [Hrinova Heavy Engineering Works] a.s. Hrinova

Chemical and Consumer Goods Industry

1. Slovnaft a.s. Bratislava

2. Benzinol a.s. Bratislava

3. Duslo a.s. Sala

4. Chemlon a.s. Humenne

5. Istrochem s.p. Bratislava

6. NCHZ [Novaky Chemical Works] a.s. Novaky

7. Izomat a.s. Nova Bana

8. Severoslovenske Celulozky a Papierne [North Slovak Pulp and Paper Plant] s.p. Ruzomberok

9. Juhoslovenske Celulozky a Papierne [South Slovak Pulp and Paper Plant] a.s. Sturovo

Transportation

1. Slovenska Plavba Dunajska [Danube Shipping Lines] s.p. Bratislava

Agriculture and Water Economy [appears twice in article, as published]

1. Zrebcin [Stud Farm] Motesice s.p.

2. Zrebcin Velky Saris a.s.

3. Slachtitelska Stanica [Breeding Plant] Horna Streda s.p.

4. Istropol Solary s.p. Horne Myto

5. Slachtitelska Stanica Levocske Luky s.p.

6. Research Institute of Pomological and Decorative Wood Species s.p. Bojnice

7. Potato Research and Breeding Institute s.p. Velka Lomnica

8. Vodarne a Kanalizacie [Water and Sewage Works] s.p. Bratislava

9. Zapadoslovenske Vodarne a Kanalizacie [West Slovak Water and Sewage Works] s.p. Banska Bystrica

10. Severoslovenske Vodarne a Kanalizacie [North Slovak Water and Sewage Works] s.p. Zilina

11. Vychodoslovenske Vodarne a Kanalizacie [East Slovak Water and Sewage Works] s.p. Kosice

Pharmaceutical Production

1. Medika s.p. Bratislava

2. MEVAK a.s. Nitra

Construction

1. Povazska Cementaren [Vah Valley Cement Plant] a.s. Ladce

2. Cementaren Turna [Turna Cement Plant] a.s. Turna nad Bodvou

3. Kamenolomy a Strkopieskovne [Stone Quarries and Gravel Pits] a.s. Zlate Moravce

4. Panelaren [Prefabricated Units Manufacturing Plant] Zilina s.p. Zilina

5. Panelaren Kosice s.p. Kosice

6. NIBACO s.p. Bratislava

Terms of privatizing state property administered by the Slovak Railroads will be set out in a special law.

Comment: 'Unfamiliar Path' of Privatization Concept

AU2206063495 Prague RESPEKT in Czech 19-25 Jun 95 No 25 p 3

[Commentary by Peter Schutz: "Privatization a la Meciar"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The current Slovak scene is reminiscent of a kind of military exercise area. Here and there "live" ammunition is also fired, but everything is shrouded in smoke from the various ersatz affairs and scandals. The third Meciar government has probably determined that, after six months in office, the fog is sufficiently thick and the time is now ripe to fire real bombs—namely, the "new concept for coupon privatization" announced by Prime Minister Meciar on 6 June is not a mere display of fireworks a la Democratic Union's allegedly false petition sheets or the antipresidential campaign.

In essence, this involves the first systemic encroachment into the concept for "federal" economic transformation,

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

from which, despite copious political pronouncements, Slovakia has still not withdrawn. It is possible, to a considerable extent, to put the inertial functioning of this reform scenario down to the fact that the country's macroeconomic indicators are invariably good.

Bonds Instead of Shares

What does the "new concept" consist of? The 3.5 million investment coupon owners (MIK's) who registered in Slovakia's second wave, instead of the opportunity to invest in enterprises or funds, will get a National Property Fund (FNM) bond worth a nominal 10,000 korunas [Sk]. According to the two television appearances by Prime Minister Meciar—no other information is available—the bond would mature in five years, and interest would be paid at the discount rate (currently 11 percent).

The most frequent objection to this scheme is that it involves common fraud because, compared with "normal" coupon privatization, the MIK's will be swindled. This was expressed most tellingly by the Christian Democratic Movement's economic expert and deputy chairman, Mikulas Dzurinda, when he said that "this is the most fair form of privatization—no one will get anything."

At the same time, however, this criticism is the most debatable. It is obvious that the market price of the FNM bonds will hover, for many foreseeable reasons, far below their nominal value. On the other hand, even if citizens had the opportunity to invest in enterprises, as the former Moravcik government had envisaged, the market value of the coupon booklet would, on average, obviously also be under Sk10,000.

State Leasing

Far more significant than the cogitation over the "value" of the FNM bonds, however, is the simple fact that, by means of this decision, a huge amount of property (Sk35-40 billion) is being eliminated from privatization on a long-term basis, if not forever. That is, it stays within the FNM or in the hands of the state.

The cancellation of the second coupon wave is only part, albeit of fundamental importance, of the government's privatization strategy as a whole. Other elements of it include direct sales to interested parties determined in advance, emphasis on employees' shareholding companies, and the already drafted law on implementing the "state's strategic interest" in select branches and enterprises.

For "direct sales," it is better to talk about a kind of state leasing. The "purchaser" puts down 10 percent of the book price in cash and pays the rest according to an installment schedule agreed upon with the FNM. He becomes the owner after the last installment has been paid, which could be in 10-15 years. It depends on the agreement and—on the size of the bribe.

This system, which is, according to all of the accessible sources, the Slovak privatization method No. 1, provides unlimited scope for corruption and boundless subjectivism. Namely, it states in the government's policy statement that the "entrepreneurial objective is a priority criterion." It is as clear as day that this method will create not a situation for free entrepreneurs and owners but, rather, a network of vassals and clients.

It is impossible to talk about full-value privatization even in the case of the so-called employees' shareholding companies. Turning them into majority owners to the extent envisaged by the Meciar government has no parallel in the world. According to the verbal statements, an employees' shareholding company has priority, as the acquirer, in every enterprise where it is set up and asks for between 51 and 100 percent of the shares.

An Unfamiliar Path

The outline of Slovak privatization's sad future is capped by the aforementioned "strategic" law. It removes—most probably indefinitely—several entire branches from privatization, headed by power and telecommunications, and, moreover, roughly 40 designated enterprises. According to the experts, this will involve property with a book value exceeding Sk100 billion. The real pearl of this norm should be the so-called "Golden Share," which, with retroactive validity (!)—that is, in already partly denationalized companies, too—should guarantee the state a veto in "strategic matters" everywhere its stake is not less than 8 percent.

If we add the long-term lack of interest from foreign capital to this picture, we can only come to one conclusion: Privatization in the normal sense of this word is virtually coming to an end in Slovakia, and the country is embarking on the third way of a kind of mixed economy—that is, with a more extensive state sector than is normal even in less liberal market economies and with a huge quasi-private sector. Thus, the prospect of a price office and a planning commission is precariously approaching reality.

So, even though the purpose of the "new concept for coupon privatization" will only reveal itself fully in connection with the coalition's other "privatization" objectives, it is the visible and irreversible step by which Slovakia is abandoning the Czechoslovak reform scenario and setting out on an unfamiliar path.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Horn on Obstacles to Basic Treaty With Romania

LD2106211995 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1630 GMT 21 Jun 95

[Interview with Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn by an unidentified reporter on 21 June; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, a basic treaty was concluded with Slovakia not long ago and, I do not quite know how to put it, there is another one under preparation with Romania. In any case, there is great interest regarding your telephone conversation with Romanian President Iliescu. Has anything happened since?

[Horn] Well, first of all, as for Hungarian-Slovak relations, I consider it a matter of great importance that the Hungarian National Assembly has ratified the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty with a great majority and this received a very favorable reaction abroad. [passage omitted]

As for the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty, the experts concluded their talks yesterday and I am expecting their report. When I spoke on the phone with President Iliescu last Thursday, we agreed that if any questions are left open, Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs will be ready to go to Bucharest to resolve them.

The real reason why I rang President Iliescu was that the Romanian Senate adopted a bill which, in my judgement, means a huge step backward in the education of national minorities, first of all, that of the Hungarians. I stressed that this was not interference in the internal affairs of Romania, since this education bill was contrary to international and European standards and requirements and contrary to the obligations undertaken by Romania at the time of its admission to the Council of Europe. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] There is news about a possible meeting between you and Iliescu in Cannes.

[Horn] This is not just news. Iliescu was also invited by President Chirac, just the same as I was. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Do you expect any result from this meeting?

[Horn] The dialogue has to be maintained at all times and with all means. It is not a good thing when politicians keep sending messages to each other via the press. [passage omitted]

We would like to avoid the heightening of tension. The situation which evolved in Romanian-Hungarian relations in the past year allows progress in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres. I would like to stress this because regardless of whether the basic treaty is concluded or not, we have to carry on building good relations. The basic treaty is not a final goal but a means to improve relations further.

It is no fault of the Hungarian Government that this basic treaty has not been concluded yet. We are ready, we have the political will. I stressed this during my conversation with President Iliescu last week, that we, naturally and legitimately, uphold the demand that the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty cannot be of lesser value than the Hungarian-Slovak one. Thus, it cannot be weaker regarding the enforcement of the rights of minorities than the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty, such as, for example, the inclusion of Recommendation 1201 of the Council of Europe.

If the Romanian party rejects this, it has to pronounce in front of the international community that it is not willing to sign a basic treaty. This is no tragedy, as we have not had a basic treaty up till now and we still managed to cooperate. So we will carry on and when conditions are ripe for the conclusion of such document, we will start again.

Undoubtedly there is a very difficult and complex situation in Romanian domestic politics at the moment. The various extreme nationalist forces are very active and this makes the work of the parliament, the government, and the senate difficult. One has to take this into consideration even if it cannot be accepted. [passage omitted]

Keleti, Tinca Ask U.S. To Improve Defense Ties

LD2106141795 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0700 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Romania and Hungary have asked for U.S. assistance in improving military cooperation between the two countries. A letter on this was signed by Romanian National Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca and Hungarian Defense Minister Gyoergy Keleti. The letter says, among other things, that a hot line between Budapest and Bucharest could be built more cheaply and efficiently with the help of the United States. The Romanian defense minister took the message to Washington. After his arrival, Gheorghe Tinca said Hungarian-Romanian military cooperation is problem-free.

Horn, Opposition Leader on Parliamentary Walkout

LD2106145495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0445 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The debate between the opposition and the prime minister [Gyula Horn] over SUED-DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG's interview with Gyula Horn,

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

which has been going on for several weeks, continued yesterday in a tone which was sharper than ever before. According to the text [of the interview] which was erroneously translated into Hungarian, the prime minister said that there are parties in the Hungarian parliament which support fascist movements.

The issue came to the forefront again in yesterday's question time [in parliament], and after the prime minister's reply the opposition left the session in a unified walkout—moreover, Matyas Szuros of the Socialist Party joined them.

It was after this that our correspondent Andras Domany asked Gyula Horn and Ivan Szabo, the head of the parliamentary group of the largest opposition party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, to speak in yesterday evening's "Encore" program [on Hungarian radio]:

[Begin recording] [Domany] Mr. Prime Minister, there was very sharp debate concerning your reply to an interpellation. Seeing the storm this has raised, what do you think? Were you not mistaken? Did you exaggerate anything?

[Horn] Unfortunately, this is not the first time that certain representatives of the opposition in the Hungarian parliament have called me a national traitor, a destroyer of the nation, a murderer of the nation, and similar things—for example, in connection with the Bokros package [of recently passed austerity measures]. Such pronouncements were also made in connection with the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty. It is not good that the tone used by the opposition has become so crude in the past months.

I would like to point out that it is not the coalition parties which began this, nor are they adopting this style.

It is untenable, unacceptable, for there to be severe, personal insults such as those made in the National Assembly against the government or certain members of the government—for example, the finance minister—or against the coalition. Our response to these can only be firm.

[Domany] Mr. Ivan Szabo, head of the parliamentary [opposition] group, this is the second time since the elections last year that you have used this means of demonstration and walked out. Why did you feel insulted enough to do this?

[Szabo] The storm really erupted in connection with the prime minister's statement which appeared in SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG. Laszlo Kover [member of the opposition Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party] made an interpellation to enquire about the interview's reference to parties in the Hungarian parliament that backed racist groups demanding a racially pure Hungary.

Since no one was named, the question was: Which are these parties?

When replying to this, the prime minister very suddenly referred to certain press articles, and linked the Federation of Young Democrats and the Hungarian Democratic Forum, as well as the Smallholders' Party, with reports implying that we backed these racist parties, groupings. And he provided information to television and radio audiences which we consider to be completely groundless. The prime minister attributes to us views that are in direct contradiction to our policy, our basic principles—referring to pamphlets, the organization of rallies which we did not even attend.

We believe that this is such an insult that we cannot leave things as they stand.

[Domany] Is there really evidence to back these accusations?

[Horn] I said in my reply to the interpellation that I was referring to press reports which said organizations of the Smallholders' Party in several parts of the country provided facilities for various extreme, nationalist, or other groups. I even showed the press articles which reported this. On this basis I told SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG about how I regretted that while the parliamentary parties in normal countries distance themselves from such things, this did not happen here.

Ivan Szabo is referring specifically to the demonstration by the [Budapest] Basilica...

[Domany, interrupting] In March.

[Horn]... where some members, representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum were involved in the staging of this event. And I would like to point out that now and in my interpellation I have been referring not to the Hungarian Democratic Forum but to some its representatives. Various statements were read there [at the demonstration]. What I requested in parliament, and what I hoped, was that both the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Federation of Young Democrats would distance themselves from it.

[Szabo] This is the first time that I personally have heard of this. Therefore, I did not know about the issue in question. However, there is no doubt that we feel that if such accusations are made, and if they are justified, if there are grounds for them, it would be better if we heard about them first rather than from SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG. This was the procedural issue which harmed the country, that it emerged internationally at first, and

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

our ethics committee did not have the opportunity to investigate the matter—if there was such a thing.

[Horn] Allow me to note two things: First, we do not investigate such affairs. [sentence as heard] Second, we do not attend such events, so we depend on the press, on press reports about them.

[Domany] There is an allegation; there is a rebuttal of the allegation. We obviously shall not clarify this now. However, the parliamentary work will have to continue for several days. To what extent can work—for example on the constitution—be continued after today's incident?

[Szabo] I believe that the government's nerves are frayed in connection with the much-disputed Bokros severance pay affair, the Budapest Bank, and this is why we believe that Finance Minister Lajos Bokros gave the reply he did [in parliament on 20 June], while [Imre] Szekeres, head of the Socialist Party's parliamentary group, spoke in an undesirable manner. I think that the summer will resolve this, but things cannot be left as they are, where an accusation—which if true could have legal consequences—is accepted by means of a vote by both government parties, representing one force.

[Horn] Any normal person would be upset by what Lajos Bokros received today. He did not get upset about it but replied coolly. He did make a few sharp remarks but the other side started it. Imre Szekeres drew the attention of Ivan Szabo to the fact that it was not the present government but the previous one which concluded the employment contract for Lajos Bokros [with the Budapest Bank of which Bokros was chairman].

I have very often appealed, proposed to the opposition that we should try to work together for the sake of our national cause, national unity. I now feel that these appeals mostly fell on deaf ears. I also said in parliament that if the two parties distance themselves from this I shall be ready to issue a correction.

[Domany] This has happened, for the most part.

[Horn] That is so. On that basis I am ready to correct the statement published in SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG.

[Szabo] [Word indistinct] a new development which we must consider. Allow me to note something else. I believe that the best specific form of cooperation would be for attention to be paid to the opposition too. I do not believe that every law has to end up at the Constitutional Court. I would like debate of this type to be concluded in parliament. [end recording]

Keleti Discusses Army Financing, Reorganization

LD2206105495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0440 GMT 22 Jun 95

[Studio interview with Hungarian Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti by an unidentified correspondent—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] We know that the National Assembly has discussed the reorganization of the Hungarian Army behind closed doors. The guest in our studio is Hungarian Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti. [passage omitted] Why was it necessary to have a closed session about this matter?

[Keleti] It is a matter of opinion as to how confidential this issue is. However, we did not only discuss the future development of the Army, the government has also listened to the annual report about the state of the Armed Forces. This was a very frank and open evaluation of the situation which, to my mind, was better to be held behind closed doors. This is one thing.

Second, the government has evaluated the security situation of the region, that is, what are the likely tasks expected to be performed by the Army in the future.

[Correspondent] Jenoe Poda, a deputy of the Hungarian Democratic Forum announced that this report has found its way to a trash can, that is, what the government considers secret has already been leaked. So the question again, was the secrecy justified?

[Keleti] Yes, indeed it was very unfortunate that the document has been posted incorrectly. However, we did not discuss that particular document yesterday, but the report by the minister lasted 55 minutes and we analyzed the report in great detail. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] How is the Hungarian Army to be transformed? There are certain opinions that an army of 30,000 will be necessary in Hungary, apparently this is a NATO assessment. Yesterday there was talk of an army of 95,000. This is a great discrepancy.

[Keleti] Certain issues must not be mixed up. The army of 95,000 discussed in parliament yesterday at the open session reflects the present state. The military doctrine stipulates that the parliament has to determine the numbers in the Army in the form of a detailed breakdown. This was not done during the tenure of the last government, and our government has also neglected this issue.

As regards the number of 30,000, this is an idea originating from a deputy in the Hungarian Socialist Party. To my mind this is unrealistic. What is realistic in our opinion, that by the end of the tenure of this government, that is by 1998, the number in the Army

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

should be reduced to about 60,000. As we said many times before, the present Army cannot be financed from this budget. Thus, it has to be transformed in order to build up a more modern army capable of more rapid reaction in every respect.

[Correspondent] Is it true that as a NATO member it will be cheaper to transform the weaponry of the Army, or will it be cheaper to do it now, that is outside NATO?

[Keleti] I think the situation is that unless we start reforming the army now it will become impossible to maintain its operation from the present budget and extremely difficult problems will arise. As to whether it is cheaper or not to carry out this transformation within NATO, it is my conviction that it is definitely cheaper to carry out the transformation before NATO membership since we are receiving a lot of help from NATO members, such as Germany, the United States, and so on. Thus, the advantages offered to us within the framework of the Partnership for Peace by the NATO member countries have to be made use of.

Regarding accession to NATO, I cannot put a date on that, however, there is going to be a transitory period of about two or three years at least, during which the country's affairs will have to be handled in the context of national considerations instead of considerations to the Alliance, that is, in case of a crisis situation, independent decisions will have to be made. I say this extremely hypothetically for, despite the closed session of the government, I have to disclose that we were in agreement about the fact that at the moment Hungary is not facing any military threat from any direction.

[Correspondent] We know from the above-mentioned secret document that apparently the government is going to give the Army an out-of-turn sum of 30-40 trillion [currency not specified].

[Keleti] I have not seen a penny of this, although I wish the news was true. The fact of the matter is that we would like to ask for more money for defense. This is to be put on the agenda of the extraordinary government session tomorrow, because we think that the transformation, apart from the fact that it will result in a cheaper structure, costs money. We would also like to start a qualitative development of the Army, that is, the purchase of technical equipment because, since 1985, the technical development of the Army has practically stopped. Money has to be spent on this.

It is also evident that financing the Army has been considerably reduced in the past few years. I repeat, this is not a secret figure, compared to 1990 when the budget was of 100 percent, so to speak, by now the real value of military expenditure has been reduced by 60 percent.

Bokros Discusses Budget, Economic Development

AU2106173595 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 21 Jun 95 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Finance Minister Lajos Bokros by Bence Gyorgy; place and date not given: "Where Should We Get the Money?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The government will discuss the basic principles and figures of next year's budget at an extraordinary session on 23 June. We asked Finance Minister Lajos Bokros about next year's budget and its major differences compared with this year's budget.

[Bokros] The budget should include an even smaller deficit. A total of about 3.5-4 percent deficit can be calculated for the entire state administration, a deficit computed to the gross domestic production [GDP]. If social pressure groups display the cooperative attitude described by Janos Kornai, we will be able to come to an agreement on the budget. If, however, someone wants more for his own ministry or sector, I will ask him the following question: Where should we get that money? With a slight exaggeration, I could say that it makes no difference to me how the budget comes together. Of course, it must also be clear that the budget structure can also be hindering or accelerating growth. Actually, I would only like to give extra funds to areas that support our competitiveness and flexibility.

[Bence] At the workers' festival on 1 June, people asked Prime Minister Gyula Horn about the timing and content of the next Bokros package. What is your answer to this question?

[Bokros] If, with the Bokros package, the people want to know when a short-term financial stabilization package will emerge, I can say that there will be no need for further such packages if everyone observes the rules and the Constitutional Court refrains from disturbing this package.

[Bence] What effects might the modification or elimination of the articles discussed by the Constitutional Court have on the package as a whole?

[Bokros] The program itself is made up of three parts. The narrow fiscal part is the one that took shape in the well-known stabilization law. One part cannot function without the other. For example, if the enterprises fail to exercise restraint in setting the wages, an inflationary pressure will start from the budget, a pressure that will make the creeping devaluation policy impossible, a policy announced in advance.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Bence] To what extent was this solution successful?

[Bokros] It turned out to be successful—to the extent that there is abundance on our domestic hard currency market today. The central bank is purchasing hard currency at the bottom level of the intervention line. Our reserves have increased considerably, and the National Bank could thus pay our debts without taking new credits. The question is whether the inflationary pressure will grow or not. If not, I think we can calculate a lower devaluation rate for the next six months. The 1.3 percent rate is a maximal value, and the central bank has flexibility in this issue.

[Bence] When will your program continue?

[Bokros] Of course, one could also call the state administration reform a Bokros package, but it is useless. This is another thing, because it will appear in the budget for several years. Some of its elements will only be felt through the budgets of 10-15 years. It is important to begin this now and achieve positive changes that can already be felt next year. For example, in the pension system, because we must operate a parallel system for 10-15 years, a system in which there will be people who can choose to retire according to the old system. At the same time, we will encourage others to better continue to work and retire after five years. If we want to increase the women's mandatory retirement age from 55 to 62, this will take 15 years, because we can only increase one year every two years. Besides, this is a very sensitive thing. It is totally different from formulating a short-term financial stabilization system, where one can swing the pole, because it is impossible to develop a consensus. This system operates the other way around: We have time and I think that we can only do this in a cooperative way.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Silajdzic: No-Fly Zone Threatened

AU2106185695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Captain Jim Mitchell, spokesman for the Zagreb headquarters of the peace forces, has said that UN radar today registered two aircraft belonging to Karadzic's Serbs not far from Banja Luka airport.

To the proposal of Admiral Layton Smith, NATO commander for southern Europe, for raids on the [word indistinct], Bernard Janvier, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander for the former Yugoslavia, replied negatively.

General Rupert Smith, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina UN command, said that he had not been consulted regarding the air actions.

Commenting on these events in a special statement issued to the state agency BH-PRESS, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said the following: If the report is true, and it seems to be true, then, following the UN members abandoning the collection points for heavy arms around Sarajevo, this would mean that the no-fly zone is also threatened. This represents the capitulation of the United Nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Kljuic, French Ambassador Discuss Fighting

AU2106182195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Stjepan Kljuic, member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has received Henri Jacolin, French ambassador to our country, at the latter's request. The issues touched upon were the grave humanitarian crisis and the fighting waged in the vicinity of the capital city of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Ambassador Jacolin informed Stjepan Kljuic of his government's insistence on the cessation of military operations and the continuation of the peace process.

Kljuic pointed out clearly that the French Government is right, but that it must convey that insistence to the side that is keeping Sarajevo under siege. Not a single country has shown so much cooperativeness and patience toward the international community during a war as the legal Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina has done during this aggression. In return, it experienced a complete betrayal of the international community, which is not ready to defend its own principles of human rights, the protection of borders, and the protection of private property, and is not consistent in implementing its own resolutions, Kljuic said in reply to the French Government's stand.

Ambassador Jacolin assured Kljuic that French soldiers will consistently perform their tasks within the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mission, and particularly regarding guarding Sarajevo airport and making it operational.

SGV's Pejanovic Predicts FRY Recognition

AU2206091295 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jun 95 pp 8-9

[Interview with Mirko Pejanovic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina and president of the SGV of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Faruk Midzic; place and date not given: "When Milosevic Recognizes Bosnia, Karadzic's Regime Is Defeated"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the last few days, Mirko Pejanovic, member of the State Presidency and the president of the Serb Civic Council [SGV] of Bosnia-Herzegovina, visited several municipalities in central Bosnia and had the opportunity to convince himself of the many positive changes on the free territory of Bosnia, in particular in Zenica and Travnik.

[Midzic] You were in Tuzla immediately after the monstrous massacre of innocent civilians. How did you experience that tragedy?

[Pejanovic] I was enormously moved by the loss of young people of Tuzla. All that horror was a hard, a very hard thing to take. I saw parents in tears. I saw young people in the rooms of the Medical Center in Tuzla, on the edge between life and death. I shared the sadness of the citizens of Tuzla, and the honorable mayor of that city, Mr. Beslagic. I myself grew up in that city. I was deeply moved by the tragedy of Tuzla, but I also admired the strength of its citizens. In their greatest tragedy they remained upright and determined, they became even more committed to the cause for which they fight. The crime was done by the beasts from the Ozren hills. They will not remain unpunished; justice will be done. The Presidency and state institutions of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will do all that is in their power, and that power grows every day, to stop the suffering of civilians in our cities.

[Midzic] After the crime in Tuzla, another crime occurred: The Chetniks killed Irfan Ljubjankic, Izet Muhamedagic, Mensur Sabulic, and Fadil Pekic. In Zenica you spoke with moving words to the assembled journalists about the deceased foreign minister, Mr. Ljubjankic....

[Pejanovic] Martic's criminals killed Ljubjankic, Muhamedagic, Sabulic, and Pekic. The missile which

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

hit the helicopter was an act of criminal hatred and animosity towards Bosnia-Herzegovina, towards the Bosniak nation. The loss is too big, both for the Bihac region [Ljubjankic was from Bihac] and for Bosnia-Herzegovina. What lies behind this crime are infernal intentions to force Bosnia-Herzegovina to its knees. But Bosnia has remained on its feet. Irfan possessed both individual and political culture. He was moderate and insightful, he built relationships with people successfully. He left the political scene in a moment when he could have given most. Our human duty is to preserve the memory of the work that Mr. Ljubjankic built into the foundations of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Midzic] We have been witnessing stormy events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which follow one another as if on a celluloid tape. The genocidal aggression in this country still goes on. If you were to judge the present situation, both political and military, what would you say?

[Pejanovic] In many ways one might say that the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is getting worse, in the first place from the standpoint of Sarajevo, Gorazde, Srebrenica, and Bihac. In the towns and places which are far away from military action, life goes on almost as normal. It is a question of revitalizing the economy there, and a general revival. On the global plane, Bosnia-Herzegovina is in an increasingly favorable position. All the defense lines have been successfully resisting the offensives of Karadzic's criminal military forces. Liberating operations by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army have caused great trouble to his army (Vlasic, Treskavica, Vozuca, for example). Patriotic multinational forces in the battle for an undivided Bosnia-Herzegovina, and those are political forces from all three nations, led by the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, have grown so much bigger and stronger that they are inevitably going to bring us a future of peace, freedom, and the equality of Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs in an undivided Bosnia-Herzegovina. The armed force on that front is the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. On the other hand, Karadzic's policy of violence, genocide, and crime has experienced defeat in the international community and on the political and military plane.

By taking UN peacekeepers hostage, the criminal Karadzic has faced his own ruin. French officials have called him a terrorist and have compared him to Saddam Husayn. He is no longer merely a party to the conflict. He is no longer the favorite child of Belgrade either. On the contrary, he has become a stepchild. The problem is how to separate the people from the Pale leadership, which means tragedy, isolation, poverty, and hopelessness to the Serbs. Militarily, Karadzic has been experiencing defeat. In his madness, he has been killing civilians in Sarajevo, Tuzla, and Bihac. That will not last long either.

[Midzic] The international commmunity does little to protect the victim. Experience shows that the United Nations does not even manage to protect its own soldiers. Why is it so?

[Pejanovic] The international community has become involved in the Bosnian war drama. Of course, it has its own approach and its own attitude. There are both positive and negative aspects of that. I am one of those people who can distinguish positive from negative in the international community's role in the Bosnian issue. The recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its historical borders, as an international legal subject, is the positive. Just like the engagement of peacekeeping forces and the provision of humanitarian aid. However, everything else indicates that the international community lacks a solid and firm concept in its approach to the Bosnian issue. Globally, it protects the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and on the ground its attitude is basically the same toward all the so-called conflicting parties. It has the military and political strength to stop the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. And yet, they have still not made the decision to do that. Once the international community wants it, the war will soon be ended! The arms embargo could have been lifted long ago. Artillery around Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities could have been silenced long ago in the name of the universal protection of civilians and the right of those people to live. The blue routes could have been opened by force long ago. Procrastination seems to be the big powers' strategic plan. Now it seems that the time for change has come. Those changes will help the struggle for freedom and democracy of the multinational democratic front representated by the presidency, PArliament, and government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In our policy there were some superfluous and unreliable illusions. Bosnia-Herzegovina is not of primary interest to the leading powers of the international community. The United States will not sacrifice its alliance with the other world powers because of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Neither America nor other powers, including some Islamic countries, "fought" for Bosnia. There has been little excitement over our suffering. Therefore, we have to put our trust in our own forces, in the establishment of political consensus among democratic forces in the Serb nation, and among the Serbs whom Karadzic keeps under his military and police control.

[Midzic] New, well-armed forces for rapid intervention have already started arriving to Bosnia. In your opinion, is that really going to be of help?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Pejanovic] The arrival of those forces could mean an improvement in the establishment and enforcement of the new UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The first test will be to open roads to bring humanitarian aid to Sarajevo, Zepa, Gorazde, Bihac, and Srebrenica. The second test will be to open Sarajevo airport and halt the shelling of the Bosnian capital and other cities. If all of this does not occur, the arrival of intervention forces will be another fiasco for the international community in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Midzic] With all this in mind, how is it possible to reach a fairly just peace, and which of the offered options should be chosen?

[Pejanovic] Bosnia and its citizens have suffered enormously. The Bosniaks, besides having suffered heavy losses (over 200,000 people), have been threatened with annihilation. All that was planned by the Greater Serbia project. The extremists of the Croatian Defense Council (HVO) in Herzegovina intended to exile and annihilate the Bosniaks in Mostar, Capljina, Stolac, Pocitelj, Prozor, and other locations. The Croats have suffered from Karadzic's forces and in the conflicts between Bosniaks and Croats. The Serbs have suffered (around 100,000 estimated victims), some in Karadzic's army, some in that army's shelling of cities, and some in Herzegovina by the extremist HVO. But, in the moments of heaviest suffering, the Bosniak people, together with the democratic and patriotic forces of the Croatians and Serbs, under the state leadership of the Bosnian Presidency, and the concept of the Platform on the Work of the Presidency in War, has created and built a stable defense embodied in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

On our path to peace, it is difficult to talk about achieving a peace that would be absolutely just. It is possible to talk about justice being done during the process of establishing and constructing peace. As one of the participants of peace talks from the very beginning of the war, I believe that the final solution of the Bosnian issue is in a political solution. However, the political solution is not feasible without the decisive participation and mediation of the international community. After all, an example of that is the Washington Agreement. The most important thing is for the international community to remain resolute in the defense of the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders, to help the repatriation of refugees, and to establish international control of borders and a temporary protectorate over Sarajevo.

[Midzic] How do you see the interior arrangement of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Pejanovic] It would go through several temporary forms; one of them, besides the present federation of Bosniaks and Croats, will be a union of cantons based on ethnic majority. The optimal solution to be established is a federal system for all of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It will join the process of European integration and cooperation with neighboring countries. It will become a member of the European Union. It will be a country open to association and cooperation within the Balkans and Europe.

[Midzic] There is more and more talk that the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, i.e. the Milosevic regime, is going to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina. Are they going to do this and, if so, what does Bosnia-Herzegovina get out of it?

[Pejanovic] The question of the mutual recognition of Belgrade and Sarajevo is an open one. The conductor's baton is not in the hands of Milosevic, as it appears to the public, but in the hands of the international community or, more precisely, of the United States. It does not represent a change in Milosevic's policy towards Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnian issue. On the contrary, this is a matter of his own interest to have the burden of sanctions lifted from Serbia and Montenegro so as to avoid international isolation and stagnation in the economic, technical, and cultural development of the Serbian and Montenegrin people. The process has been initiated and it is proceeding very slowly, because there is a lot of bargaining and negotiating. I think that it will go in a positive direction and that we will not have to wait long for a positive outcome. The act of mutual recognition would mean a turnabout in the Bosnian war drama. It will be a decisive blow to Karadzic's regime in Pale, which cannot see the rest of the civilized world for the trees of Jahorina and Romanija [mountains near Pale]. Their teacher Milosevic, although late, has acknowledged the balance of power in the world, the will of the international community, and the new world order. Yet, a lot of wisdom will be necessary after mutual recognition for peace and freedom to be achieved in Bosnia-Herzegovina with as few victims as possible.

[Midzic] The Bosnian Army has again scored some brilliant successes against the aggressor. Is our army, as demonstrated by its success, the guarantor of survival and the future of this country?

[Pejanovic] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has become a respectable military force not only in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also in the Balkan region. It becomes stronger every day. It has grown out of the people: Out of the will of the people to defend themselves. Its historical advantage is that, although to a small degree, it has a multinational composition. Together with Bosniaks, there are also Croats and Serbs in the army. Its

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

liberating power will grow further in the time to come. Its present victories are only the beginning of new liberating actions. The army carries the flag of freedom for the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina, regardless of which nation, religion, or party they belong to.

A new quality has to be achieved in the development and activities of the army through a greater participation of Serbs and Croats, and through political and media affirmation of its liberating mission for all the nations that live in Bosnia- Herzegovina. It is logical that the army, with the greatest number of Bosniaks, protects the Bosniak people, and thus also their religion, Islam. However, in its liberating mission, and, in the time to come, in peacetime as well, the army protects the liberty of Croatian and Serbian people too, just like all human rights, among which the right to nationality and religion is one of the fundamental ones. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is the army of an internationally recognized country and its legal government. Throughout the war, relationships of respect and consideration of national particularity and national equality have been developed among the soldiers of the army. Without the equality of all three nations there is no future for Bosnia-Herzegovina as a unified state. In the army, the sort of relationships have been created and developed that will be the model and basis for civilized relations among the citizens and peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina during the establishment of peace in this country.

[Midzic] In one of your interviews you said, among other things, that the SGV of Bosnia-Herzegovina, whose president you are, had chosen the right side. The right side, as you explained, is Bosnia-Herzegovina. How is that Bosnia-Herzegovina organized?

[Pejanovic] Yes, I said that the SGV had chosen the right side. The SGV took the only historically possible side. And that is the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina that originates from its past, from its historical continuity. That is the multinational entity that has deep, centuries-old roots in the soil of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Karadzic tried to sever that by force. He has not managed to tear Serbian roots out of the intertwined and mixed roots of various nations, throughout the Bosnian land. He managed to kill many people and exile many more. That resulted in a historical consequence: ethnic homogeneity, achieved by force. Nobody can deny people the right to go back to their homes. In peace they will travel and do business together again. Our geographic space is shared. Our roads and towns are shared. There is no life without interaction, without mutual consideration, understanding, and help. To cut that is like cutting the interaction of air and water. You can leave Bosnia. But you cannot take the Bosnian land with you as your luggage. If you live here, you have to live under the given historical and natural conditions. One of them is living together on the same territory. Without accepting that, there can be no solution of the Bosnian question, and, in it, the Serbian, Croatian, and Bosniak question. Those who try to destroy that, destroy the foundations of their own and their neighbors' existence. That is a historical fact. It is stronger than any temporary policy or regime. That is why Karadzic's regime will be nothing but a dark episode in the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina. If it were possible to create ethnically clean states, then all the countries of the world would be such.

[Midzic] What has happened to the [SGV's] amendment to the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, addressed to the Constitutional Assembly in March of last year, which asked that the Serb people on the free territory be equal to the other two nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Pejanovic] When international officials ask me about this, I say it is pending. And, indeed, it is. It is waiting for better times. Although it is very slow, better times for the creation of the Federation of Bosniaks and Croats are coming, they are nearer every day. They ask us why we do not pressure Federation officials more. We answer that one should wait for the Federation to stand on its own two feet, for all the cantons to be formed. When that is achieved, and it is planned to be by the end of July, then there will be more favorable opportunities for talks on the SGV's amendment. Nobody in Bosnia-Herzegovina, within its internationally recognized borders, can be a national minority. It is of strategic importance that in every part of it, the territory of the Federation, members of every nation have the constitutional status of an equal people. The Federation is a transitional historical solution, until the integral peace solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina is reached. All democratic forces among the Bosniak and Croatian people are designing the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the concept of a federal system. That is also the standpoint of the SGV. Therefore, the SGV suggests that our amendment on the Federal Constitution be passed. That would create a model of relations that would, in practice, exert a positive influence on the Serbs under Karadzic's control to accept the Federation model for all the nations. In the concrete constitutional solution there might be certain reductions in the implementation of the amendment concerning the participation of Serbs in federal institutions, until an integral peace solution is reached with the inclusion of the Serb national corpus in the Federation. In fact, it is an opening step in the process of the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We in the SGV know that in the Party of Democratic Action

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[SDA] and the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] there is still not the political will for anything like that, unlike the opposition parties. But we know that the international community will support us. We believe in democracy and we expect that we will eventually get sufficient support from the SDA and HDZ.

[Midzic] How would you judge the initiative of the SDA caucas on the election of the president?

[Pejanovic] Regardless of the reasons that the SDA caucas has for wanting to change the constitutional provisions on the Presidency, it should be postponed until an all-encompassing reconstruction of the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is achieved. Every change, and this one too, might bring more harm than good in time of war, when Bosnia-Herzegovina is finally coming closer to the final solution of its years-long war drama.

[Box, p 8]

(Dis)Agreement With LJILJAN

[Midzic] We have heard that there were some matters on which you did not agree with LJILJAN?

[Pejanovic] ....Nearly a year ago LJILJAN published an article by Mr. Kljucanin in which the role of Mrs. Ljujic-Mijatovic [Presidency member], Mr. Lazovic [chairman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly], and myself in the patriotic multinational struggle for an undivided Bosnia-Herzegovina was minimized and underestimated. The basic hypothesis of the article was that we do not represent a force capable of defeating the Chetniks. Of course we are not the main or the only force capable of defeating the Chetniks. But we are one of those forces, moral and political, which both on the domestic and on the international planes tip the scales concerning the prevention of the ethnic division of Bosnia-Herzegovina. And an undivided Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders is the main strategic goal in this historical phase of the struggle for peace and a multinational and democratic Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Of course, people have the right to a different opinion. I kept my disagreement to myself. I listened to the Bosnian wisdom in me, which I received from my mother Nevenka. Soon afterwards, Mr. Dzemaludin Latic, LJILJAN's chief editor, wrote an editorial in which he treated the Serb national corpus and the SGV as a movement for an undivided and multinational Bosnia-Herzegovina. That was on the occasion of the second Assembly of the Citizens of Serb Nationality this April in Sarajevo. In some of his ideas Mr. Latic went even further than we did. Time is on our side, the side of antifascist Serbs and of the idea of an undivided Bosnia-Herzegovina. The more patience and wisdom that we have in the unification of patriotic forces, the better for all of us, for all nations of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Box, p 9]

It Is Getting Better and Better

[Midzic] What are your impressions now that you have visited a number of municipalities in central Bosnia?

[Pejanovic] In encounters with people on the ground one gets realistic knowledge about the success of the policy of Bosnia-Herzegovina's state institutions. One thing is true of all the places that I visited (Tuzla, Olovo, Breza, Visoko, Zenica, and Travnik): The situation is much better than it was last year. Not to the same extent everywhere. After all, that is the territory of the Federation and the improvement can be seen. Local authorities are showing the good effects. Olovo, for example, has had excellent local self-organization in very difficult situations. This municipality needs help from the republic to solve the problem of telephone and road communications and electricity lines. They deserve it and it should have been done already. There is also good news from Travnik. The economy is now functioning at 17 percent of its production capacity. In order for production to be increased, uniform customs regulations are neccessary throughout the Federation, with the free movement of people and goods. Despite all the difficulties, there are chances for increased production and for exports, particularly in the sphere of food production. I have always given and I intend to continue to give my support to the plans of the citizens of Travnik, and of their ambitious mayor, Muhamed Curic.

Omersoftic on SDA, Relations With Government

AU2006122595 Sarajevo DANI in Serbo-Croatian Jun 95 pp 6-9, 56-57

[Interview with Amila Omersoftic, vice chairman of the SDA (Party of Democratic Action) Main Board and acting general manager of Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television, by Senad Pecanin in Sarajevo; date not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Pecanin] The public first met you during the election campaign, when you were in charge of the technical organization for SDA [Party of Democratic Action]. Was that the beginning of your political activity?

[Omersoftic] At the beginning of the nineties, when suddenly the economic system of Bosnia-Herzegovina started to plunge, it appeared to me that Energoinvest [name of company], too, no longer needed experts, and

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

that I could not advance any more there. Therefore I decided to get out of Energoinvest and start my own private business. I signed my first professional contract with SDA [Party of Democratic Action], to run their election campaign. Even before my decision the party was very close to me, I liked its program. What was the essence of this? You know that in our society the level of imaginative thinking was very low. That particularly applied to SDA members. At one moment, SDA was a movement that was first joined by our common man, who was really far away from imaginary thinking. So, one should have explained certain things to those people, who had always been far from both administration and the state, should have organized them, connected them mutually in order to carry out the elections, to make the party function as one mechanism. We have run the party so well that, in the way of organization, it is probably the best set up party in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Pecanin] At that time it was a bit strange for a woman to find herself at the very center of events and most important jobs. What was your experience then, and how do you experience today the fact that there are so few women in our public life?

[Omersoftic] That is not the case only in the party. I can tell you that, while I was working at Energoinvest, it was very difficult for me to reach the level I deserved with my knowledge and work, because the whole attitude toward women is rather negative in our society. If you are a female, you have to be, for sure, 10 times cleverer, more capable and stronger, to win a position equal to the one occupied by a male. The following happened in the party: while preparing the election campaign, many people came into my office. When they come and bring the lists, I tell them: Come back in three days, at 4:25. And if one did not appear at the scheduled time—he lost his turn. We have established such a dynamic in which everything was planned down to seconds. And there was one more thing—whoever came in, I told him—hello, handsome. Thus I managed to establish the necessary communication very quickly.

[Pecanin] Is it easier for you to do business with men or women?

[Omersoftic] It's all the same. I only care whether someone is clever.

I Am a Person Without Complexes

[Pecanin] Are you a feminist?

[Omersoftic] No, I am not, not at all.

[Pecanin] What is your opinion about feminism?

[Omersoftic] I think it is wrong. [passage omitted]

[Pecanin] It seems that the period from the founding of SDA until today has shown that you are someone in President Izetbegovic's significant confidence? What is the reason for that?

[Omersoftic] I met President Izetbegovic for the first time when I started to run the election campaign. Then, we were discussing our strategy and choice of personnel. One of my basic characteristics, very much appreciated by the president, is that I am not someone who says "Mr. President, you are right." We have established such a dialogue within the party.... The president, in my opinion, contributed a lot to it.

The Party Has Never Been More Solid

[Pecanin] It seems as if there have never been bigger differences within the party than today? Do you agree?

[Omersoftic] I would not agree. I think the party has never been more solid than today. At the beginning, the party's strength was in its organization. That organizational structure is kept today. Within 24 hours we can get whatever information we need. So, that is it, the well-strengthened organizational mechanism that was determined already in the phase of the elections.

[Pecanin] Now I will give you two examples upon which I base my impression about the differences. The first example deals with rather a sharp and brutal attack on you, your efficiency, your work, even on your family, published in the paper that is considered to be the SDA party paper. This paper is LJILJAN. How do you explain that attack in the light of the fact that you and Dzemaludin Latic, the editor of LJILJAN, are members of the Executive Board?

[Omersoftic] No, he is not. Dzemaludin is member of the Main Board. But the roots of this are much deeper. There is a frontal attack on Amila. There are LJILJAN, and BOSNJAK, and OSLOBODJENJE, and Studio 99 [independent radio station]. Why did that happen? Probably because everybody has estimated that, being a woman, I must be one of the weakest targets they should aim at and hit. As far as concerns LJILJAN, many people from that paper have thought that by my appointment to this office they would get more space to realize their ambitions and make business. I stick to the SDA program, and that is to fight for a democratic, multinational state, in which one cannot survive if one chooses only one side. And the people from LJILJAN have had much greater ambitions with this company. When their ideas were not adopted, when they were not given the space they had expected, then they started to attack. For example, I did not allow the polemics between Latic and Suntic about mixed marriages to go in the Daily TV News Bulletin. You know, they tried to

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

transfer it to the Daily News Bulletin. I told them: "No, gentlemen, you will not get on the Daily News Bulletin. This is no place for your polemics. Finish it where you started it. This is a very serious company, in which we will deal with serious things, and we will not descend to that level. My task is to preserve the dignity of both my state and the company I work in." I think that was where the first, basic conflict came from. Later on, it spread. They keep making allegations.

This Is My War Task

[Pecanin] The second example I mentioned a minute ago is the already known polemics between Haris Silajdzic, the prime minister, and you. You will agree that this in some way represents a surprise and talks about big contrasts existing within the party itself. It has to do with two of its high officials.

[Omersoftic] Listen, to be frank, many people have tried to ask whether there had been any conflicts ever between me and Mr. Silajdzic. Absolutely not.

[Pecanin] Not even regarding the choice of government members?

[Omersoftic] Watch it, I have to admit I was surprised when Mr. Silajdzic decided not to appoint me as a member of his government. I have never received an answer to that question, and I wanted to get an answer. However, Mr. Silajdzic has spent a very long time abroad and he knew nothing about the core, because he was dealing with foreign policy. Nor has he ever known what or how much has been done in the country itself and how much personal contribution and effort I have given to the problems of the refugees. I have never gone public with that, I have never made a fuss about it, I have understood it as a normal thing. The prime minister has and must have the freedom to choose his own assistants. But I have invested a lot of effort on those problems and I had good results. When the late Turajlic and I were setting up the system, then we thought of it as an engineering project to organize all the business transactions to do with the care and return of the refugees. Today, too, I think it is a much better system than that of the Ministry, which is, as an administrative body within the government, slow and inefficient. Later on, I was offered a job abroad. I told them I did not want to leave the country as long as it was at war. I started a couple of papers like KORIDOR, SUMEJA, and ZENA 21. I was working. When I was told that Television was having organizational problems, I was told: "You have to go there." Believe me, I arrived here like a soldier. I did not ask myself whether I wanted it or how I was going to do it, but I simply understood it as my war task.... You see what happened later with Silajdzic. You can read in the papers that Mr. Silajdzic stated that B-H Radio and Television forbade their TV crew from coming over there because the gentlemen from the SDP [Social Democratic Party], who were here at an extended meeting, went to Mr. Silajdzic and said: "She wants us to overthrow the government." And on the basis of that Silajdzic stated that he expressed no confidence in this company. The attack continued, it did not stop. Then an opportunity appeared for a whole range of people from this company [B-H Television], and they joined the attack. But there is no team in which everyone is satisfied. I do not think that now I should call up my party to defend me. I convened a news conference then in order to tell the prime minister that he cannot violate the laws of this state.

[Pecanin] I think that was a really disastrous move for the prime minister, to deny access to the journalists of B-H Radio and Television, but I also think the same about your announcement of the news conference. I think you abused your office.

[Omersoftic] I did not abuse my office, I did not want to abuse my company at all.

[Pecanin] You announced....

[Omersoftic] I announced a news conference.

[Pecanin] It is unusual.

[Omersoftic] All right, my announcement of the news conference was a mistake. Perhaps I should have left that to the B-H Press [Agency]. But afterward, Mr. Silajdzic was also given a chance to talk. Nobody was denied that right. At that moment I knew only one thing, that I have to be louder than the others to make people understand there is a woman who thinks she has got a right to say "no," and to say "no" even to the prime minister. That she has got a right to do what the law of this state allows her to do.

[Pecanin] Did you consult anyone regarding your decision....

[Omersoftic] No one. I said then that the prime minister is kicking a ball into his own goal by closing the door in front of journalists.

[Pecanin] Was any pressure put upon you before the conference?

[Omersoftic] No. None at all.

[Pecanin] What were your friends' comments on the conference and what was your impression? Would you do the same now?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

There Is No Conflict Between Prime Minister and Me

[Omersoftic] I think that from that moment many people changed their attitude toward me. I think I gained a lot as an individual; if nothing else, I emerged from anonymity, I emerged from that unbearable situation in which media attacked me up every day, and I said nothing. It happened for the first time then, that I stepped forward and said that I was no longer allowing myself to be slandered by anyone, even if the price I would have to pay would be my disappearance. It is just a question of self-respect, my self-defense as an individual. Until that moment, thanks to the libel organized by "Studio 99," I was one of the most hated persons in the city. It was ridiculous that people who had never seen me were approaching me with so many negative emotions. Having put much at risk—because the prime minister is charming, popular, everybody likes him—I went on to say: Gentlemen, I am also a human being, one that you cannot play with and tell just like that in the media—little one, you are going to move away because we do not like you.

[Pecanin] The conflict....

[Omersoftic] Again, it is not a conflict. There is no conflict between me and the prime minister.

[Pecanin] I was just about to say that the conflict was reduced to a personal level between the two of you.

[Omersoftic] That is what the prime minister tried to do, isn't it? So, if he did not tell me last time why he got rid of me, if he wants to get rid of me this time, too, I have told him: "Sir, you cannot do that, because you made a mistake this time." I would say that to Izetbegovic, too, perhaps in some other way, perhaps I would enter his office and tell him: "Mr. President, you cannot do that," because I will let no one trample upon me and blacken me without argument and hard evidence. And that is the only means of survival, the only way of creating democracy in this state.

[Pecanin] The public impression was that the party, in this, an unwelcome conflict for it, has taken your side. Do you agree with that?

[Omersoftic] The party said: "Ladies and Gentlemen, for the sake of the party, stop it, both of you." According to that, it would be very stupid if the party were to arrive at the situation of saying: either one or the other. I think that the party did the wisest thing it could have done.

[Pecanin] By taking your side?

[Omersoftic] And why did the party take my side? Why did it not take Mr. Silajdzic's side? Because he has violated this state's law. Why do you think Silajdzic was right, and I was not?

[Pecanin] I did not say that....

[Omersoftic] For the first time, when he removed me from the Direction, and now for the second time. It is just a question of your viewpoint. And again you have a situation where a male is always right. Here, now I tell you that Mr. Silajdzic, as a man, is right, and that he is stronger than me, a woman. [passage omitted]

[Pecanin] To what extent are you, personally, informed of daily program-making, that is how much do you know about the contents of news and political program?

[Omersoftic] Believe me, I have no idea whatsoever. They only consult me when there is some delicate political issue. Here, go upstairs and ask, I do not know who is on duty now, who is at work, I have no time to deal that, I am so busy.

Party's Hymn Stays On

[Pecanin] Are you aware that, let us say, Radio and Television programs do not broadcast UNPROFOR reports that are not favorable for us?

[Omersoftic] It can only happen if we lack people to send them to a news conference....

[Pecanin] How can that happen when the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Headquarters is situated at the PTT [post office] some 500 meters away?

[Omersoftic] It can happen when we do not have enough cameras, but even then it very often happens that we obtain the information over from some other companies.

[Pecanin] Whose decision was it to broadcast the party's hymn every evening before the Daily News Bulletin?

[Omersoftic] I happened to find it so when I arrived here, and I left it like that. Now everybody asks why the hymn is there. This hymn played a very important role when our signal reached Mostar. When we wanted to remove it, there was a strong reaction in Mostar. That song has a strong patriotic function. That is the reason why it is so difficult to remove it, not because of whether it belongs to the party. Look, the decision about it can be made by either Midheta or me, I cannot make the decision myself. It was not I who put it into the program. The gentlemen on the Program [Committee] should make a decision about that.

[Pecanin] And they do not make it.

[Omersoftic] They do not make it.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Serb Group Blames Tudjman, Milosevic for War

AU2106194895 Belgrade NASA BORBA (supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 17-18 Jun 95 pp 6-7

[Interview with Ljubo Babic, president of the Multiethnic Association of Bosnians and Herzegovinans in Belgrade, by Dragan Banjac; place and date not given: "Serbian Issue Cannot Be Solved With War"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Two years ago, when there were already a number of associations of Serbs from the other side of the Drina River in existence in Belgrade, the Multiethnic Association of Bosnians and Herzegovinans, which brings together people of all nationalities, was founded with the aim of drawing attention to the Bosnian problem and proving that people can live together. The association recently held its second annual convention at which Dimitrije Bajalica was elected the new president. We are talking to Ljubo Babic, the first president and the man behind the founding of the association.

[Banjac] Could the conflict have been avoided in this region after the disintegration of Yugoslavia?

[Babic] No. I am referring to the war in Bosnia. When the shameful breaking up of our common country occurred, this was inevitable, because of the concepts of a greater Serbia and a greater Croatia. [passage omitted]

[Banjac] Let us return to Bosnia. There are various interpretations of the kind of war that is being fought there, religious, national, a war of conquest...?

[Babic] First of all, the ethnic division of Bosnia is not feasible. Then, I also want to say that the local greater-Serbia lobbyists compare the "Serb merger" with the two Germanys, which is an absurdity. It is claimed that the war is religious, national, that it was helped (even caused) by external factors, then there is also a mention of the term civil. In fact, this war has been imposed on Bosnia and is purely a war of conquest by the party in power in Croatia and Tudjman, and by Serbia led by the ruling party and Milosevic. [passage omitted]

[Banjac] You have been to Sarajevo. You spoke to many people and many officials. What is your impression?

[Babic] From my talks with Pejanovic, Komsic, and Izetbegovic it became clear that the people in Bosnia-Herzegovina are essentially interested in seeing an end to the war (although the army leadership and some other structures in the Federation and Sarajevo want to get territory back by force), that the Muslims do not advocate revenge against the Serb side, and that they are prepared to build Bosnia-Herzegovina together with the Serb people as a whole (even with those from Pale), a new state on the basis of the Contact Group plan. The Serbian Civic Council plays a special role in this. It advocates links among all forces that strive for the democratic and civic option in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the preservation of its independence. They represent the bridge between the Serbs "held captive" in the RS [Serb republic], refugees, and the mother country; they are the force that will help people after this brutal war and media-generated hatred to look at one another in the eyes a little easier.

[Banjac] Your association has cooperated extensively with the Serbian Civic Council. You have also had many objections concerning the Serbian authorities and the leadership from Pale.

[Babic] Both, naturally. Regarding the government, we support Serbia's official policy in the peace process, namely that the recognition of Bosnia and the main partner in causing the crisis—Croatia—should occur as soon as possible. This means that, in addition to accepting the Contact Group's plan (which is opening up prospects for the creation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as an union), one should also accept the Z-4 plan. At the same time, I think that there is no doubt that Slobodan Milosevic is historically responsible for the escalation of the crisis, but his peace policy should be supported. He can partly rehabilitate himself only through a consistent turn toward peace. It is a big question, however, whether he really has changed his policies. [passage omitted]

Humanitarian Situation in Bihac 'Critical'

AU2106164395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Jun 95

[Report by Nada al-Issa]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, we received the following report from the suffering Bihac: The several-month-long blockade of the humanitarian routes is continuing; convoys with food, medicines, and first aid supplies are not coming. The expected aid has not come for months. For example, one convoy in a month does not mean anything, because that does not suffice even for one day. The humanitarian situation that has been grave is now critical: There is no flour, edible oil, or salt, and the hospital does not have even the most basic medicines. There is a shortage of bandages. The worst thing is that the international community is only watching the suffering of its so-called protected zone and doing nothing to help the population that is literally starving.

Dr. Bekir Taflic, head of the Bihac hospital, says that that representatives of the international humanitarian organizations are still leaving Bihac. They started leaving about 10 days ago, in a situation when literally the last

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

food reserves are being used up, when only one incubator is working in the Bihac hospital, and there is not a single X-ray apparatus.

Let us add here some good news for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Malaysian Government has sent 227 metric tons of margarine and edible oil as humanitarian aid. (Kamal Ismaun), charge d'affaires of the Malaysian Bureau in Zagreb, presented the humanitarian delivery to Muamer Jarovic, director of the mission of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government in charge of humanitarian issues, who told us that the aid has already been equally distributed to logistical centers on the territory of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Unfortunately, due to the blockade of the humanitarian routes, none of this can be sent to Bihac and it is there that the aid is needed most.

Radio Reports Continued Inter-Muslim Clashes

LD2106130895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1202 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Petrovac, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—Inter-Muslim clashes in western Bosnia have continued unabated over the past 24 hours, Velkaton Radio reports, citing western Bosnia military sources.

The same source claim that in fierce battles against units of Izetbegovic's 5th Corps, forces of People's Defence of western Bosnia have liberated new territories in western Bosnia and inflicted heavy losses on Dudakovic's forces. Thus, Vrnograc, the second largest settlement in western Bosnia after Velika Kladusa, is today under the control of Fikret Abdic's forces.

It also says that the operation to liberate some other villages near Vrnograc is under way. In the course of this operation the fighters of People's Defense of western Bosnia have captured over 50 members of the 5th Corps.

According to Velkaton Radio, last night in Velika Kladusa, Fikret Abdic, president of western Bosnia, received a delegation of the Forza Italia political party from Italy. Its members, as reported, were "impressed with production in the 'Agrokomerc' and 'Saniteks' factories." They were also interested in business cooperation with these companies.

Army Morale 'High,' Serb Situation 'Tense'

AU2106202695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On the fronts in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the aggressor has persistently been launching offensive operations, trying in vain to regain lost positions. In doing so, he is using up the reserves he had brought and engaged in order to continue offensive combat operations, the Press Center of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina announces.

The aggressor is still launching fierce artillery operations and attacks with large-caliber weapons. Apart from Sarajevo and the surrounding places of Visoko, Tarcin, and Pazaric, the aggressor has shelled Travnik and Bugojno. He stepped up operations in the theater of operations of the 5th Corps, against our units' positions at the foot of Mt. Grmec.

The combat morale of the units of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is extremely high. What is especially admirable is the readiness to persist in performing further tasks. In this respect, the successes of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units at the Sarajevo and other fronts in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina are particularly important.

In the ranks of the [words indistinct] temporarily occupied territories, corruption, war profiteering, violence, people's physical instability, war psychoses, fear, insecurity, and destitution have been escalating. All this is making the entire situation extremely tense. This tension has, so far, been curbed by (?strong) pressure by the police and military apparatus of Karadzic's regime.

All available data show that such shackles must break. The pressure on these aggressor's shackles is ever stronger as a result of successful actions by the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The agreed coordination and joint action between the units of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council is being realized.

According to verified data, the population and members of the aggressor's army on the temporarily occupied territories are listening to and watching programs of Radio and Television of Bosnia-Herzegovina more frequently, as well as regional and local radio and television stations on the free territories of Tuzla, Zenica, Mostar, and Bihac.

This obliges us even more to make sure that all the information broadcast to our citizens on the temporarily occupied territories is true. This data is a good sign that the population will nevertheless cross over from the environment of lies and manipulations to the environment of truth and normal life, it is said in the announcement of the Press Center of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Belgrade Paper: Carter To Resume Mediation

AU2206103495 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Milena Drazic: "Jimmy Carter Soon To Return to Pale and Sarajevo To Negotiate With Warring Sides"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Jimmy Carter could soon find himself again on a delicate mission as a negotiator between the warring sides in Bosnia. After his noted testimony in the Senate, new room for negotiations has opened and, as TELEGRAF has learnt in the highest circles of the U.S. Administration, Carter considers it his personal obligation to pick up from where he left off a few months ago. This intention of Carter's has not reached the U.S. media yet.

If Carter decides to travel to Pale and Sarajevo, it will boost the increasingly apparent decision of the U.S. Administration to change its policy on Bosnia.

The latest Muslim [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] offensive has completely exposed the government in Sarajevo and thus prevented Washington, even with the support of the hawks (Madeleine Albright, Gore's aide), Anthony Lake, Holbrooke, Christopher, etc.), from siding with Izetbegovic on this occasion. Just as before, the Sarajevo authorities have played the card of military intervention in Bosnia by the United States, the United Nations, NATO, or some other superpower, but have not succeeded on this occasion. [passage omitted]

Karadzic Views UN Hostage Issue

MS2206113195

[FBIS Editorial Report] The BBC "Nine O'clock News" program at 2000 GMT on 21 June carries a 3.5-minute report from Pale by John Simpson on Serbs taking of UN hostages, including an interview with the Bosnian Serb Leader Radovan Karadzic.

The report opens with exterior views of the Bosnian Serb Presidential Palace, cutting to show Karadzic and Simpson entering a room and sitting down at a table. The report continues with footage of a recent battle between Muslims and Serbs.

Karadzic then speaks: "Brilliant victory of Serbian armed forces, and it is going to be more obvious very soon, because we didn't start any counteroffensive so far."

Simpson then asks: "And yet it is the general opinion in the West, in Belgrade even, among your friends in Moscow, that you're losing it now?"

Karadzic replies: "It looks like sometimes that we are defeated if we, if Moslems, have some initial successes on the mountains. But this is nothing, this is simply of tactical importance but nothing strategic. Strategically we have already won this war."

The report then shows footage of UN hostages on a bus.

Simpson asks: "In hindsight, though, surely it was a terrible mistake?"

Karadzic relies: "One mistake causes another mistake. One drastic move causes another drastic reaction. You have to realize that that was a reaction, not an action, and we felt hopeless and helpless and we had to do something very drastic in order to prevent further strikes."

Simpson says: "Of course many people in Serbia, for instance, in Belgrade, thought that it was perhaps the action of individual commanders in the field, and that you hadn't necessarily given the orders yourself to take UN people hostage?"

Karadzic replies: "I always back my military commanders."

Simpson asks: "That sounds as if it was their idea, rather than yours?"

Karadzic continues: "No, no, we function as a state and I am the Supreme Commander in Chief, and everything my army does I do back."

The report then shows UN forces in training.

Simpson asks: "Do you regard them (UN Rapid Defense Force) as a threat?"

Karadzic says: "Well, not if they behave in an impartial way, but if they are hostile against us then there's going to be war. I have to be quite clear, we would not accept the presence of any foreign armed forces on our territory."

The report then shows Bosnian Serb troops in trucks, then a tank.

Krajisnik Comments on Churkin, Bildt Visits

AU2206121495 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jun 95 p 3

[FoNet report: "Churkin's Visit Inspires Optimism"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pale, FoNet—Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the Serb republic [RS] Assembly, told FoNet that the aim of the visit to Pale by Vitaliy Churkin, former special envoy of the Russian President to the former Yugoslavia, was "to convey Russia's position regarding the current events concerning Bosnia-Herzegovina."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

He added that they had exchanged opinions with Churkin. However, as he said, "we were not able to agree on anything substantial. This was more of an exchange of opinions that inspired certain optimism."

Asked to comment on the statement by Carl Bildt, the new cochairman of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, that he would not negotiate with the Bosnian Serbs, Krajisnik emphasized he thought "this was a big mistake."

"Mr. Bildt probably made such a statement as a result of the lack of information, as otherwise his work would be doomed to fail in advance."

"I hope that this is perhaps a misinterpretation of Mr. Bildt's statement, because it is impossible for Mr. Bildt to play any active role and achieve qualitative progress if he does not have contact with all three sides," Krajisnik believes.

Speaking about the statement by Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbej [Sacirbegovic] that the government in Sarajevo was willing to resume negotiations with the Serbs, the speaker of the RS Assembly believes that "this is a Muslim trick."

"The Muslims want a break because their offensive is broken. Our appeal that we want to resolve the Bosnian crisis through talks is sincere, while the Muslims want to negotiate when they are in trouble but, wherever possible, they are trying to arm themselves and are not sporting true intentions," Krajisnik emphasized.

According to him, no cease-fire currently being proposed is acceptable to the Serbian side, because, as he stressed, "the RS wants cessation of hostilities, wants talks, and wants a final solution to the crisis." [passage omitted]

Asked when the unification of the RS and the republic of Serbian Krajina will take place, Krajisnik replied that this had not been agreed yet. [passage omitted]

Serbs To Proceed Against Medical Draft Dodgers

LD2106153595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 21 Jun (SRNA)—The Ministry of Health, Labor, and Social Welfare of the [Bosnian] Serb republic issued a statement today saying that the relevant bodies of the Serb republic have instituted criminal proceedings against all physicians and medical staff (military conscripts) who have fled to the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] since the beginning of the war.

The public statement, which was also sent to all information media in the FRY, says that the Ministry of Health has sent to the relevant bodies of the Serb republic lists containing names and addresses of physicians and medical staff who are military conscripts under the conditions of immediate danger of war or a state of war, in accordance with Article 6 of the Law on Defense, and who evaded their military service by fleeing to Serbia or Montenegro.

"On the basis of these lists, the Ministry of Defense and other relevant bodies of the Serb republic have instituted criminal proceedings against those persons who, as military conscripts, fled to the FRY since the beginning of April 1992," the statement says.

The Information Service of the Ministry of Health reports that not a single individual will be exempted from legal sanction despite the fact that, in the meantime, they have in various ways acquired citizenship in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or identity documents in one of its republics.

"Those doctors and medical staff who report to the ministry's departments of the municipalities they fled or the offices of the Serb republic in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Uzice, and Podgorica will have their charges dropped," the statement says, and adds that this also refers to draft-age men whose residence was on the territory under Muslim or Croat control.

The statement also stresses that all individuals who report to competent organs of the Serb republic by 5 July will be sent to health and medical institutions in the Serb republic.

Serb TV Commentary Praises Antiair Defenses

AU1306130295 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 12 Jun 95

[Commentary by Zoran Baros]

[FBIS Translated Text] The creators of the new world order have opted for the use of force, including the unwarranted bombing of Serb residential areas, in an attempt to intimidate the Serb nation and force it to withdraw and accept the unrealistic demands of the Contact Group. Under the patronage of potentates, having gotten directly involved in military actions against the Serb republic, the UN peace forces have sided with the Muslim-Croat coalition and, together with NATO, act as biased shapers of the Serb destiny. Absolutely unprovoked, the NATO air forces, at the request of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], dropped their lethal cargo on the innocent and unprotected Serb population, schools, hospitals, and residential areas, which resulted in casualties and material destruction. A recent statement of General Michael Rose, former UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, who

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

says that the mistakes of previous air strikes against Serb positions were obvious and unnecessary, clearly shows that this is a case of abuse. The concentration of powerful NATO forces of France, Great Britain, United States, and other countries, show what kind of "justice" the potentates of this world have in mind.

Threats issued by their air forces prompted the defense forces of the Serb nation to pay special attention to antiair defense units of the RS [Serb republic] Army and to the territory of the Serb republic. Considering the topical military and political situation, the antiair defense system is divided into the system of antiair defense of troops and of the territory of the Serb republic. It involves the means for antiair combat with enemy jets at high, medium, and low altitudes, which has turned out to be a very successful method in the fighting so far. RS Army troop units have a sophisticated system of air surveillance and alerts that is tied to antiair defense artillery and missile units that engage in combat with enemy jets. The system ensures the impenetrable antiair defense of units and territory in their deployment zones. For the antiair defense of operative and operative-strategic units and territories, the RS Army has mighty artillery-missile units, air forces, and antiair defenses, which provide a comprehensive protection of the territory of the Serb republic and enable combat with enemy units at medium and high altitudes, even outside the range of 100 km. Modern artillery and missile systems of RS Army antiair defense protect our units, population, important buildings, and the entire territory of the Serb republic from the activity of enemy air force and helicopter units.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Spokesman Rejects Conditions for Resuming Talks

AU2106150495 Paris AFP in English 1445 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, June 21 (AFP)—Croatia Wednesday rejected the imposition of any conditions for resuming talks with breakaway Serbs in the republic. "We are ready to resume talks, but unconditionally," said Hrvoje Sarinic, spokesman for President Franjo Tudjman.

On Tuesday, the "president" of the self-declared republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) Milan Martic made talks conditional on the withdrawal of Croatian forces from the Dinara area where they were poised to launch attacks on the RSK "capital" Knin. He also called for western Slavonia, formerly held by the Serbs and captured by Croatian troops last month, to be placed under UN protection and for the Croatians to pull out.

Sarinic added, however, that Croatia wanted a resumption of talks with the Serbs on all issues "as soon as possible."

In Zagreb, the new EU mediator for former Yugoslavia Carl Bildt told the press after meeting Sarinic that the warring sides must return to the negotiating table "as there is a lack of confidence." But his UN counterpart Thorvald Stoltenberg, who accompanied him, was pessimistic, observing that restarting the peace process was "more difficult now" than at the beginning of last year. The two men later left Zagreb for Belgrade.

UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi meanwhile announced that Croatian military chief General Zvonko Cervenko would meet his secessionist Serb counterpart Milan Mrksic on June 30, according to UN sources in Knin.

Presidential Official Meets Stoltenberg, Bildt

LD2106101095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hrvoje Sarinic, the head of the office of the president of the republic held talks this morning in Zagreb with the co-chairmen of the Peace Conference, Thorvald Stoltenberg and Carl Bildt. After the talks, Bildt, who is mediating on behalf of the EU, said that his tour will include talks with top representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina's authorities and representatives of authorities in Belgrade. His colleague Stoltenberg denied, in a brief statement for the press, that he had said a few days ago that Croats and Bosnians were in fact Serbs, too.

Asked by a reporter whether he would accept negotiations with the local leaders in Knin if units of the Croat Defense Council [HVO] withdrew from the summits of Mt. Dinara, Sarinic said that the Croatian authorities favored negotiations without any preconditions.

Zubak Requests Clarification of RRF Role

LD2106140095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kresimir Zubak, president of the Presidential Council of the Croat republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has sent a letter to Gen. Rupert Smith, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, in connection with the arrival and arbitrary deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF]. Ivan Kristic has a report from Mostar:

[Kristic] The municipal authorities of Tomislavgrad [Croat name for Duvno] have informed President Zubak that the British contingent of the Rapid Reaction Force is arbitrarily and without permission being deployed even on private properties, where they destroy the crops.

A French unit has also requested to be accommodated in Tomislavgrad, Kresimir Zubak says in his letter to Gen. Smith. Neither I nor the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina wish to examine the request until we have been precisely informed about the status, mandate, role, and command structure of the Rapid Reaction Force.

At the same time, I would like to express my surprise at such a large and unnecessary concentration of troops in a small and limited area which is not involved in combat actions. I have not been offered any necessary explanations, President Kresimir Zubak says in his letter to Gen. Rupert Smith.

New Ministers, Deputy Prime Minister Appointed

LD2106182695 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Croatian Assembly's Chamber of Deputies has continued its 26th session in Zagreb. Dijana Culjak reports:

[Culjak] The Chamber of Deputies passed a vote of confidence in the newly elected deputy prime minister and in two ministers. Using his constitutional right, the state president has appointed Miroslav Separovic as justice minister; Marjan Petrovic as minister without portfolio—who should become minister for the resettlement of returnees [minister useljenja] in the foreseeable future; and Bosiljko Misetic as deputy prime minister. [passage omitted]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Collapse of Dubrovnik Economy Reported

95BA0266A Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 1 Jun 95 p C3

[Article by Leo Pugin: "Dubrovnik's Economy Has Collapsed Completely"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dubrovnik—The pearl of the Adriatic sparkles no more. Although it is late in May and the tourist season is beginning, the streets of Dubrovnik are almost empty. One of Europe's most beautiful cities is but a shadow of its former self. This city that used to be so vibrant is now quiet and depressed.

Prior to the breakup of Yugoslavia, Dubrovnik, located on Croatia's Adriatic coast, was one of Europe's most popular tourist attractions. But when the first shots of the Balkan war were fired in the fall of 1991 tourism ceased as though it had hit a brick wall.

Signs of Destruction Visible

To a city almost wholly dependent on tourism, the blow was crushing. At its best the annual income from tourism had been $500 million (over 2 million markkas). Because of the war the economy of the city collapsed completely.

During the years 1991-92 Serbian forces shelled Dubrovnik mercilessly. The city suffered severe damage and the signs of the destruction are still visible. A large part of the buildings has been repaired, but the shrapnel pocks on the walls and streets are grim reminders of war.

A map inside the fortress of the old town is also different from the usual. The markings upon it do not show the location of sights but, instead, the damages caused by grenades.

Even though the situation in Dubrovnik has become pacified considerably, the "aggressor" (the local term for the enemy) remembers to send a couple of grenades into the city every now and then. The last time Dubrovnik was shelled was in mid-May.

No Customers in Restaurants

About noon on Sunday there are some people on the streets as folks leave the churches after morning mass. But the streets are vacated quickly, and it is not only because of the drizzle. The war has left its mark on those from Dubrovnik.

Ivan Rudenyak sits in the old town restaurants he owns during the prime lunch hour. The tables await customers but there are none to be found. A well-paying restaurant customer is a rarity in Dubrovnik. "I don't know how long I can afford to keep the restaurant open at this rate. My taverns are incurring losses, and I can only maintain them with profits from former times," says Rudenyak.

Rudenyak owns a few restaurants and cafes in Dubrovnik. Before the war he was making money hand over fist but these moneys are not limitless either. "At this rate I'll have to close down my places," observes Rudenyak, a longtime Dubrovnik businessman and man of influence.

Prior to the war there were 280 restaurants operating in Dubrovnik. Now, according to Rudenyak, only 10 to 15 percent of them are still in business. The situation is about the same in the hotel business. "For all practical purposes, there is no business," he says.

Before the war over a million tourists came to Dubrovnik annually. Last year, according to Rudenyak, 20,000 tourists visited the city, and most of them were from elsewhere in Croatia. Oh, there are always some adventurers who want to come to a tourist attraction like Dubrovnik. To survive, however, the city needs large-scale tourism.

You Do Not Want To Leave Your Hometown

The crisis in what used to be Yugoslavia has had a drastic impact on Dubrovnik's transportation connections. Prior to the war as many as 90 airliners a day flew into Dubrovnik, and several cruise ships sailed into the city's port. Now there is only one scheduled flight from Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, and the harbor yawns in emptiness.

"I am certain that Dubrovnik is a safe place for tourists, but the lack of transportation connections is a serious problem," says Rudenyak.

Dubrovnik has about 20,000 inhabitants. The young in particular are going elsewhere, for there are several thousand jobless people here. During the best times Rudenyak had 40 employees, but he has only nine now. Despite everything, Rudenyak does believe in the desire of Dubrovniks to stay in their hometown.

"Everybody here has relatives abroad who help out financially. I believe that most people have a strong desire to rebuild the city," he says.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Gligorov Addresses WEU on Human Rights, Greece

AU2206115695 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 21 Jun 95 p 2

[Unattributed report on address by FYROM President Kiro Gligorov at the WEU Assembly in Paris; date not given: "The Balkans—A Test for European Security"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiro Gligorov, the President of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], in his address to the the Western European Union [WEU] Assembly, desribed the organization as having an embryonic role in the new European architecture of peace, cooperation, and the all-European progress in postwar Europe, and also represented an integration process with new prospects on the eve of the 21st century, a century that would see a common European home. He also went on to say the following:

"In this last decade of the 20th century Europe is experiencing dramatic political and security changes. The fall of socialism and European bipolarity has marked a historic new phase in the development of the continent. It is fortunate for the European nations that the totalitarian era has ended in a large number of European countries. It is Europe's general good fortune that the bloc division has ceased to exist within its living tissue.

"However, these huge historic events have not in themselves solved the problems. On the contrary, they have raised a series of new essential, strategic, and all-European questions. In a word, the era of European postbipolarity has started. In the countries of the former East Europe there is a dramatic transition from the former socialist economic and totalitarian regimes toward the market economy and democratic societies. This has objectively increased the security risks in these countries because of the appearance of nationalism and interethnic conflicts. They come as a result of the past, as well as of the changes in the political, economic, and social environment, including the strong tensions caused by social problems, and have not only appeared as a factor of internal instability in these countries, but also give rise to new European security risks.

"Objectively speaking, this postbipolarity has been identified at an all-European level in the existence of two currently different European worlds. The first, a Europe of peace and cooperation, of well being and progress, is the EU, which is the larger region of the developed north and west. The second, the world of postsocialism in Europe's southeast, is marked by the strong efforts that are being made to try to emerge from social misery and economic underdevelopment, from the bastion of nonfreedom to the kingdom of human dignity and rights.

"Fortunately, they are no longer two parallel and mutually exclusive worlds. On the contrary, their shared and mutual influence has become very apparent. Although at a slow pace, the indispensable mutual association and integration is in progress."

The Only Possible Prospect

"It is also a fact that it has become an all-European knowledge that economic, political, and security unity on the continent are in the general and common interest of all the European nations.

"Actually, it defines the need for a new all-European strategy for the 21st century that we are all now looking for.

"This strategy has the following basic points:

"First, European integration is the safest, the most efficient, and economically and politically the most rational way to make the continent a really common home for all its nations and countries. The EU experience has indisputably confirmed this. However, we cannot say that we have reached a solution simply by declaring that we favor this goal. It is going to be a long and hard road for the countries that are still approaching the common European home.

"Nevertheless, these radical and very necessary steps depend and will continue to depend on the support and economic and political assistance of the countries of developed Europe. We are particularly encouraged by the knowledge that the prevailing political view in most developed European countries is that this assistance is actually self-serving, because the common fate of the continent is essentially undivided. This has also been seen in analyses of most of the problems and security risks in Europe today. Let me recall just a few of them: uncontrolled and illegal migration, organized crime, the illegal arms trade, and so on. I shall not dwell on what the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has shown, which is now costing Europe not only large financial sums and many security risks, but it has also caused a tragic loss of innocent human lives. The armed conflicts, interethnic clashes, and social misery cannot leave the European man's conscience at peace.

"All this leads to an unambiguous conclusion. It is far more rational and efficient to protect peace and security in a preventive manner, with economic and political instruments, by inclusion in various European associations and organizations, than to have to extinguish fires, to restore the peace, to have the destruction of enormous

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

material resources, and to have citizens die in vain, even entire nations on this continent."

Western European Union and New Stability

"Second, collective mechanisms of European peace and security like the WEU [Western European Union], the OSCE [Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe], and NATO, have an extremely important role in the new European strategy. Normally, the role of the United Nations is equally important. The reason is because Europe must identify its interests in, but also its own contribution to the new world order of peace and security. In the past decades the real function of the collective security systems in the European Union was as an axis. The WEU played an outstanding role in this. The construction of the common foreign and security policy to be compatible with the transatlantic link showed all the advantages of NATO. In this context, the creation of the OSCE has opened a true all-European and larger international framework for solving the question of peace, security, and cooperation in Europe. The search for a new strategy of collective security systems has also become obvious in a number of important points. The revival of the NATO project Partnership for Peace is of particular importance. This project not only facilitates the introduction of European standards in the defense policies and army structures of the former socialist countries and especially of the former Warsaw Pact, but it is a preparation of these countries to participate in the common European defense and security policy and structure. In this sense it was of great importance that the Russian Federation joined this project.

"It is evident that the Western European Union, with today's discussions, is making an important contribution to the construction of a new order of security and peace in Europe and the world. I firmly believe that it has to be opened up for the membership of new European states.

"Further accomplishments in the role of the OSCE, particularly in eliminating the danger of transforming this organization into merely a consciousness of European security, instead of performing, first of all, its preventive function in favor of peace and cooperation in Europe, is of specific significance."

The Situation in the Balkans—The Greatest European Absurdity

"The end of the 20th century, unfortunately, will be marked in the history of Europe with a dark stain—the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the most radical expression of the tensions in the most turbulent European region—the Balkans.

"Today, this region has been shaken by a nonsensical and totally tragic interethnic war on the territories of the former Yugoslavia, it has been pressed by vital options and relations among a number of states that are characteristic of the cold war and that represent real threats for the revival of various bipolar concepts and possible divisions in the region.

"Actually, the situation in the Balkans today is the greatest European absurdity. Nevertheless, the Balkans is one of the key questions on which the future of the common European security structure and defense policy will be tested. This structure aspires to be based on principles to which there are no other alternatives: The question of the European security system as an entity; the construction and efficiency of the collective systems for security and cooperation in Europe; as well as the further development of the European order of peace and security based on legal instruments.

"I have touched upon the all-European and Balkan aspects with the aim of describing the essence of the present position and situation in the Republic of Macedonia.

"These are extremely important questions that occupy Macedonia a lot. In the four years since its independence, the Republic of Macedonia has tried to find the answers to these questions and to determine the principles of its internal and foreign policy. It was its political concept and determination, but also its confirmed practice and resolve to create the so-called Macedonian model of peace and security in the Balkans. In view of the wider importance of these principles for the region, let me deal with some of them.

"The Republic of Macedonia achieved its independence after the fall of former Yugoslavia, in a peaceful and legitimate way. It refused to participate in the outrageous war on the territory of former Yugoslavia, and by the referendum and the adoption of its Constitution, it proclaimed its independence. This is how not only the centuries-long aspiration of the Macedonian people to create its own independent state, was accomplished, but it was also demonstrated that it is possible to achieve the right to self-determination and statehood without bloodshed in the Balkans on the eve of the 21st century. Generally, this act was possible because of some important assumptions."

Macedonia—Atypical

"First, on the internal political plane: The Republic of Macedonia chose the peaceful way of disassociation from former Yugoslavia, and not a military conflict. The former Yugoslav National Army left Macedonia by agreement.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

"Macedonia proclaimed its independence and state within the existing borders, as internationally defined borders. Not only did it not choose the road of territorial pretensions and attempts at a violent change of the borders, but it constantly indicates this as a basic reason for a future 100 years' war in the ethnically mixed Balkans. Bearing in mind the typical Balkan surroundings, the Republic of Macedonia, and this is really uncommon in European practice, stated in its new Constitution that it does not have any pretensions whatsoever toward any of its neighbors. Today, Macedonia has practically no border disputes with its neighbors.

"The Republic of Macedonia is opting for fast and radical economic reforms, for consistent transformation toward a market economy. Despite the high social price, as well as the difficult problems caused by the UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, as well as by the illegal Greek embargo against Macedonia, the knowledge that this is the only possible way for economic progress and well-being has prevailed.

"The Republic of Macedonia has opted to be a modern, European, legal state, with parliamentary democracy and the high constitutional standards of a civic society. The EU's Badinter Commission in 1991 assessed the Macedonian Constitution as a modern European constitution and recommended the early recognition of the Republic of Macedonia.

"The Republic of Macedonia opts for interethnic understanding and tolerance, as well as for the development of the rights of the ethnic minorities in Macedonia. It is a model based on the traditions of the Macedonian people and ethnic minorities living here, but is also a model based on standards of international law and practice in this region. This has confirmed Macedonia as an atypical Balkan country, at a time when ethnic cleansing and genocide, suppressed ethnic rights, and religious and ethnic discrimination are the Balkan reality and one of the greatest dangers for Europe's security."

The Absurdity—Against Macedonia

"Second, in terms of foreign policy: The Republic of Macedonia has completely accepted the European model for integration and cooperation. The long-range aim and the basic political philosophy of my country is to join the EU, NATO, and other European associations and institutions. We believe this to be the only option for the revival of the entire Balkan region. This is the only way to protect the dignity of the independent states and nations, to make borders a formality, open to the free flow of people, goods, and ideas.

"At the core of our Balkan policy lies the policy of good neighborly relations on the principles of the inviolability of borders, noninterference in internal affairs, and well developed economic, political, and cultural cooperation. Bearing in mind that there is no single Balkan state where there are no national minorities from neighboring countries, it is our firm stance that the rights of national minorities have to be dealt with by the OSCE and the appropriate European international institutions. These questions are part of the internal democratic development and human rights and liberties in every individual Balkan country. The Republic of Macedonia has demonstrated this by its own example, in cooperation with the Council of Europe, the OSCE, and the Conference for Former Yugoslavia, whose missions are active in the Republic of Macedonia.

"The Republic of Macedonia views its international position as an equal member of the family of European nations and the United Nations. Unfortunately, in spite of all its essential decisions, the Republic of Macedonia, through no fault of its own, cannot take its equal place in an organization such as the OSCE. This, first of all, is very damaging to the OSCE, because the Republic of Macedonia is the only European country not to be a member of this organization, although it fulfills all the criteria for membership. It is true that the reason for this is well known and on this occasion I would just like to point out that this kind of absurdity is detrimental to European-wide security. The reason the Republic of Macedonia cannot be admitted to the 'Partnership for Peace' project is identical.

"Peace and security in the Republic of Macedonia is of interest to the international community at large, as demonstrated by the deployment of UNPREDEP [UN Preventive Deployment Force] forces in our country. The preventive diplomacy of the UN peacekeeping forces have in this case shown real efficiency. I would particularly like to pay tribute to the importance of the U.S. contingents within the framework of UNPREDEP.

"I do not believe," Gligorov said in conclusion, "that I have to reassure you of the importance to Europe of maintaining and protecting peace and stability in the Republic of Macedonia. First, because the Republic of Macedonia occupies a central position in the southern Balkans, where the east and the west, peace and war, and nations and cultures have always met and interacted throughout history. Second, but no less important, in this dark Balkan decade it has proved to be a model for the solution of the Balkan crisis with its peaceful policy, the European option, and its democratic orientation. This is why I am certain that we shall meet at the next assembly session as a member of the OSCE and 'Partnership for Peace.'"

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Box, p 2]

Is a Balkan Turn Possible?

"Not only it is possible, but it is also indispensable, first of all, that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina ends. It is one of the most complicated questions of world peace at the present political moment," President Gligorov said. "Unfortunately, the efforts of the international community, particularly of the Contact Group, have not yet yielded any successful results. In principle, the ending of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina must be based on long-term solutions, which implies safeguarding the principles and documents of the United Nations, first of all in relation to the nonrecognition of any changes of borders through violence and to the legitimization of ethnic cleansing.

"The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has displayed all the horrors of interethnic war. Its consequences will be long felt by the region and the continent. Moreover, the tensions among the other states of former Yugoslavia, which are also based on interethnic conflicts, are more than evident. As long as ambitions exist to annex territories and create ethnic states, instead of to open borders and choose the European option, clashes will be unavoidable. This is exactly why the strengthening of peace and security in the Balkans must start from the new Balkan political reality: Former Yugoslavia fell apart because it was an artificial creation. The newly created and internationally recognized states are independent and sovereign states with internationally defined borders. All the former six members of the federation are equal successors of the former Yugoslavia. No other experiment to impose or violently create new state communities on this territory is possible. On the contrary, the only solution is to support the independence of these countries and their more rapid inclusion in Europe's economic, political, and military structures. This is the only way to transform the Balkan powder keg into a stable, secure European region."

[Box, p 2]

Greece Must Be the Promoter of European Ideas

After his speech, President Kiro Gligorov answered questions from the delegates of the WEU Assembly. Sir Raphael Johnston from Great Britain wanted to know about the damage that the Republic of Macedonia is suffering from the Greek embargo.

President Kiro Gligorov replied that the embargo costs Macedonia $50 million every month, and the embargo has lasted for 17 months. We hope that it will soon be lifted and that the road to a lasting cooperation and friendship with Greece will be opened.

Delegate Fassino from Italy also wanted to know about the relations between the Republic of Macedonia and Greece, and therefore he asked: "What preconditions is Macedonia forwarding for the beginning of the negotiations, and also how does the President intend to solve the problems with the Albanian minority in the country?" Gligorov replied that Macedonia has a long term determination to provide for a common life to all nationalities through tolerance and mutual understanding. President Gligorov also made an appeal from the WEU Assembly floor to any of the neighborly countries in the Balkans to announce if it has a higher level of secured rights, and that Macedonia is ready to follow such an example.

In connection with the questions on preconditions in the negotiations, Gligorov recalled that from the very outset Macedonia has been prepared to have bilateral discussions, but unfortunately, this has not been accomplished. He thinks that the problem posed by Greece does not have any real background and that our country does not have any territorial disputes and pretensions with the southern neighbor.

German delegate Scholter asked about Macedonia's stance on a possible deployment of German troops within the framework of UNPROFOR in Bosnia, to which President Kiro Gligorov said that there are no obstacles for the German troops to participate in the peacekeeping mission in the Balkans.

Greek delegate Kastanidis, responding to the President's address, asked him if he wished a lasting solution and if he was willing, as he said, "to sit at a table and start negotiations tomorrow." President Gligorov replied that it is in Greece's long term interest to have Macedonia exist and that in spite of all the problems that Greece is causing Macedonia, there is no sense of antagonism toward the Greek people. Gligorov also added that Greece, being the member of NATO, the EU, and recently of the WEU, must be a promoter of European ideas, and not a brake.

Just after that, President Gligorov held a news conference in the WEU Assembly building. As usual, representatives of the Greek media asked most of the questions, on the mood and willingness of Macedonia to sit at a negotiating table with Greece. "We are ready," Gligorov said, "to sit and negotiate right away, but under conditions of equality." "Are the conditions equal," he asked, "if someone is pressing with an embargo, and would the Greek side agree to sit and negotiate under such circumstances? So far," Gligorov said, "Greece has been the one that has constantly made up new conditions and it has constantly asked Macedonia to show goodwill."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

When NOVA MAKEDONIJA's representative asked whether the fact that Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski left for New York at Cyrus Vance's invitation means that there is a new phase in negotiations and whether the President is more optimistic now, Gligorov replied that there are initial signs of hope but that we shall have to wait and see what the discussions in New York are about.

Gligorov Calls Meeting With Chirac Cordial

AU2206111595 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 1330 GMT 21 Jun 95

[Statement by President Kiro Gligorov following meeting with French President Jacques Chirac in Paris; date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The meeting with President Chirac was conducted in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere, in the true sense of the word. Chirac showed great understanding for Macedonia's [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] position and reiterated that Macedonia must be helped to remain an example of a Balkan country that chose peaceful means of reaching an understanding with its neighbors, thereby providing stability in the country and gaining respect in the international community. At the same time Chirac made several proposals, starting with the one that France, in principle, would show more presence in Macedonia, that Macedonia would have a large cultural representation in France, and that he personally would urge French companies and French capital to see to the need for enlarging our modest economic cooperation. He specifically stressed that it was good that France was the initiator and supporter of the project on Vardar, that is, the Vardar Valley.

Bocinov Ends Official Visit to Czech Republic

AU2206121995 Skopje MIC in English 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Chief of the General Staff of the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Army, General Colonel Dragoljub Bocinov ended his two-day visit to the Czech armed forces today. During his visit, as we were informed by the Czech Ministry of Defence, Gen. Bocinov had a chance to meet some organs from the Ministry and the Czech Army which he was interested in meeting and for whom he came to the Czech Republic in the first place.

The Macedonian Army is interested in cooperating with the Czech partners, especially in the field of training of military professionals. Besides discussions on this topic with the Chief of the General Staff of the Czech Army Gen. Col. Yirzi Nekvasil, Bocinov paid a visit to the Center for the education and training of the Czech Defence Ministry, for the training of officers who will carry out activities abroad, as members of peace missions. Most of the courses are of international character and the Macedonian side expressed particular interest in them.

Today, Bocinov is scheduled to visit the aircraft factory "Aero Vodohod," which supplies the Czech army with quality aircraft of the type "L-159." Third-world countries have shown great interest in the aircraft manufactured at "Aero Vodohod," as well as Russia, where they are used for training. At the end of his visit, Bocinov was also received by the Deputy Defence Minister Miroslav Kalausek.

Improvements in Electrical Energy System

95P20815A Skopje THE MACEDONIAN TIMES in English Mar 95 Vol 2 No 7, pp 18-19

[Article by Saso Novevski: "Double Connection for a Safe System"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] With the 400 kilovolt long-distance power line from Bitola to Skopje, the Macedonian Electrical Industry starts a significant investment operation. Last week the selection of the contractors, which was made by a commission from the Electrical Industry, was approved by the European Bank, which means that a deal with the contractors will be signed next month. The construction will start immediately, because the route was prepared a long time ago.

The public enterprise Macedonian Electrical Industry is definitely the first industrial organization which "broke the ice" in the contacts with the renowned international financial institutions, and succeeded in obtaining foreign means for the realization of a very important development investment. This is in reference to a credit worth $22 million, and which is already approved by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). This loan is intended for the construction of a new long-distance power line from Bitola to Skopje. The conditions under which this credit was obtained are very favorable. The loan has a "grace" (resting) period of two years and will be paid off within the next 15 years. People from the Electrical Industry still have to decide whether they will choose the fixed interest rates, which are 4.5 to 5 percent a month, or if they will accept the so-called "libor" interest rates. The success of the Macedonian Electrical Industry certainly has a broader meaning for the national economy in whole, because with very strong international competition of possible contractors interested in this project, the European Bank accepted the bid for the construction of this long-distance power

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

line from EMO-Ohrid, in cooperation with the Turkish company Galkon.

Last week the selection of the contractors made by a commission from the Electrical Industry, was approved by the board of directors of the European Bank, which means that a deal with the contractors will be signed next month. The construction of a long-distance power line will start immediately, because the route was prepared a long time ago.

The experts in electrical energy which are familiar with the characteristics of the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] system emphasize without hesitation that the safe, high quality and contiuous supply to the customers with electrical energy is directly related to the quality and the construction of the transmission net. A high voltage transmission net of 400 kilivolts, they conclude, can not always satisfy all the demands for energy. This is especially related to the existing high voltage line from Bitola to Skopje, which transmits all the produced energy from the biggest producer REK Bitola to the capital of the state, which has the highest rate of energy consumption. This part of the transmission system is highly amortized and does not provide total safety, and, on top of that, its exploitation causes great material damages. Namely, on the existing long-distance power line the protection system of the trafo-stations often breaks down, which directy creates power failure. This means that the production of REK Bitola can not be transmitted to the consumers. Additionally, if such failures last longer than seven or eight minutes, the REK can not transmit the produced electricity, which resuts in failure of the whole electroenergetical system. Damages made by these failures are worth tens of millions of German marks.

This problem with the one way connection of REK Bitola has been bothering the Electrical Industry for a long time. Although numerous studies have been made for a construction of another long-distance power line, the financial means have never been sufficient to enter an investment. Hence, the success in the negotiations with the European Bank has an invaluable meaning. Practically, this operation will provide a double long-distance connection on this voltage level (the new power line will run parallel with the old one), which will repeatedly pay off itself because it will solve all the technical problems. The double connection will also improve the conditions for the parallel functioning of our electrical system with the United European System (UCPTE), which has very strict regulation rules.

As for the construction of the 400 kilovolt long-distance power line itself, only few facts are sufficient to illustrate the greatness of the operation. So, for instance, for the construction of the power line, whose total length will be 113.5 kilometers, 15,000 cubic meters of ground will be dug, 3,600 tons of concrete and 73 tons of steel armature will be built in, 305 aerial grated poles will be constructed, for which more than 2,000 tons of steel frameworks will be used. All of this is only part of the work in which, most probably, there will also be a place for the Macedonian construction companies.

Finally, as unpopular as it may sound, we would not like to forget the great confidence that the European Bank showed towards the public enterprise and towards the Macedonian government. But, justifiably, when the European Bank invests somewhere, it seeks for a solvent partner. The European Bank pointed out that with little response from the Macedonian government, the price of the electrical energy must reach the real level, about five cents per kilowatt hour, with which the Electrical Industry will achieve the real supposition to pay off the loan on time. That parity has not been reached even with the latest rise in the cost of electrical energy, so it is realistic to expect another minimal rise in the price by the end of the year. Inevitably this has to be done because the investments in electroenergetics, one of the most important activities and one which represents the real blood circulation of the state, have their own price.

[Box, p 18]

Kole Spasovski, Executive Manager Public Enterprise Macedonian Electrical Industry: A Priority Project

The Macedonian electroenergetical system, unlike the past, introduces itself as an independent, technological, and economical entirety in our state. Because of the changed conditions and the prescribed needs, serious duties have been imposed on the public enterprise and that is that the consumers must always be satisfied. That means an obligation to provide a continuous nominal voltage, nominal frequency and, together with that, to achieve a high level of system credibility. That need, the credibility, can not be achieved if we continue with inconvenient and highly amortized high voltage transmission net, as in the case of the Bitola-Skopje long-distance power line. For those reasons, our goal which we will accomplish with the help from the European Bank, is to build a new long-distance power line, parallel with the existing 400 kilovolt line. We, of course, considered this investment as a priority which has to be completed. With the new power line, we will achieve a double connection on that voltage level, practically connecting "in ring," which will increase the safety of the system, and at the same time, we will improve the conditions for a parallel work of our system with the United European system, UCPTE.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

I strongly believe that our Commission, which evaluated the offers for the most convenient contractor, made the right choice. The whole procedure about the tender was conducted on a highly expert level and by the strict criteria and conditions imposed by the European Bank. Their approval of our suggestion that the EMO from Ohrid and Turkish Galkan should be the contractors, is one more reason to believe that the work is entrusted to very solid firms which will finish the construction of the 400 kilovolt long-distance power line from Bitola to Skopje in a period of 18 months, solid and with high quality, as was planned.

[Box, p 19]

Shortly after the loan agreement, which was ratified by the Macedonian government last September in accordance with the criterion of the European Bank, an international invitation for delivering the offer for this project was announced. On the auction that followed the tender for the long-distance power line was bought by 27 companies, almost all of them were leading and renowned companies in Europe, having great experience with such constructions. In the later stage of selection, the Commission which consisted of experts from the Electrical Industry and from the EBRD it was estimated that only five of the bidders delivered complete documentation. All these companies, as it was required by the tender, among which were the Turkish Galikon and EMO from Ohrid, had a condition to act and cooperate on the principle of "joint venture." All five firms offered a lower price than the amount of the loan given by the Bank, and the exact price offered by EMO and Galikon is $16,789,765. The Electrical Industry is convinced that, according to the references and the experience that the partners have in such constructions at home and abroad, they had really chosen the most convenient contractors. They are expected to complete the work with a standard of high quality and in the anticipated period of 18 months.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Polish-Israeli Statement on Jankowski's Sermon

LD2106223095 Warsaw PAP in Polish 2106 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 21 Jun—Speaking on behalf of the Polish-Israeli parliamentary group, Aleksander Krawczuk, a Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] deputy, read out the following statement this evening before the adjournment of the Sejm meeting till tomorrow.

"The words which Father Henryk Jankowski used in his sermon in the St. Bridget's Church in Gdansk in the presence of the president of the Polish Republic caused deep resentment, amazement, and sorrow among deputies and senators members of the bilateral Polish-Israeli group. We are as hurt by the contents of the sermon as our friends in Israel and all thinking Poles. We do hope, however, that this shameful incident will not, after all, cast a bloody shadow over the successfully developing Polish-Israeli relations. We expect all Polish authorities to condemn unequivocally all forms of anti-Semitism."

Krawczuk also said that the above statement has been handed to the Israeli ambassador to Poland.

Wojciechowski Elected Chamber of Control Head

LD2206111395 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1007 GMT 22 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 22 Jun—Janusz Wojciechowski, Polish Peasant Party [PSL] deputy and the ruling coalition candidate, was elected to the post of chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] by the Sejm this morning. The conclusive result was reached in the first ballot.

Wojciechowski received 257 votes; his opponents Piotr Lukasz Andrzejewski [from Solidarity] received 35 votes, and Wieslawa Ziolkowska [from the Labor Union, UP] 56 votes.

After the ballot, Wojciechowski told journalists that as NIK chairman he will be impartial. He stressed that the oath he will take obliges him to be impartial, and possible suspicions of the lack of such impartiality would be suspicions that he will not keep his word. "I would like to stress that I take the oath very seriously, and if the Senate confirms today's Sejm's decision and I take up office, I will act precisely as the oath obliges me to do," he said.

In keeping with the Constitution, the NIK chairman is appointed or dismissed by the Sejm, and this decision needs the approval of the Senate.

Okonski Reprimands Generals for Statements

LD2206074095 Warsaw PAP in Polish 2049 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 21 Jun (PAP)—Minister of National Defense Zbigniew W. Okonski has issued "a reprimand" to the generals who have spoken out publicly on political subjects. On 21 June, Okonski informed the deputies from the Sejm National Defense Commission that if, after a first warning, further cases such as this ensue, disciplinary regulations will be applied to such officers.

The issue of the BWP-2 and the case of Generals Julian Lewinski, commander of the Warsaw Military District, and Tadeusz Jauer, head of the Air Defense Forces of the General Staff, dominated the meeting of the Sejm commission. These generals have spoken critically on political subjects, including the disarmament agreements signed by Poland and the deputies preparing the bill on accomodation for the Armed Forces. During the Sejm meeting, Okonski presented a report on the Defense Ministry's main directions of activity.

Among others, Jerzy Szmajdzinski (of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]), the commission chairman, criticized the generals. He said that a similar political component, "undermining what Poland has done for disarmament over the past five years," was to be found in the statements of General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of General Staff. According to Szmajdzinski, Wilecki has also stated that he is "a public figure, a political one, and there is no getting away from that."

Szmajdzinski reported that in internal military publications it is possible to find statements accusing the government coalition of breaking, through various kinds of publications, the agreements of the "defense summit" not to drag the military into politics. The commission chairman stressed that if the generals enter into politics, then "let them not be surprised that they too will be subjected to public criticism."

Replying to these accusations, Okonski said that the generals' nerves also sometimes "give way." He laid stress on the fact that military men, who know best about defense matters, and are "chided like little boys," ought to have the right to speak out on matters regarding the security of the state. He himself has expressed the interests of the military in relation to political structures. He also stated that "civilian control in Poland is far from being of the best standard."

Presenting a report on current Ministry of National Defense matters, Okonski expressed pessimism as to the increase of financial outlays on defense next year. Issues

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

of increased arms purchases and faster integration with Western military structures will thus stand questioned.

Sejm Drafts Law on National Defense Minister

WS2106122895 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Z.L.: "Sejm Deputies Suggest Stopping the Discussion; Staff Under Minister"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces is subordinated directly to the National Defense minister, who is the chief organ of the state administration in defense. Subordinated to the minister are also the Military Information Services, that is, the intelligence and counterintelligence services of the Armed Forces. The minister is in charge of the cadre policy and the financial economy of the Armed Forces; he also controls their skills and combat readiness. His decisions concerning the chief of the General Staff and other military officers have the force of orders. Where the professional cadres are concerned, only the minister—the only civilian—has disciplinary powers, that is, he can punish and award all soldiers.

Yesterday, the Sejm National Defense and Legislative Commissions decided at a joint session that they would put forward these proposals to the Sejm. According to the deputies, the draft of the new law on the office of the national defense minister specifies the currently binding constitutional regulations and clarifies doubts. The General Staff remains one of the components of the civilian-military ministry; however, the deputies also took care of appropriate powers for the chief of the General Staff, "the highest-ranking soldier on active service." All decisions concerning issues related to the structure, organization, and activity of the Armed Forces are made by the national defense minister after consulting the chief of staff or on his motion. On behalf of the minister, he has command over the Armed Forces in peacetime; he is also responsible for training the troops, as well as for maintaining the Armed Forces' combat and mobilization readiness.

Parties Debate Sejm Secret Services Commission

WS2106135995 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by "LUZ": "The Sejm. Supervision Over the Secret Services; The Opposition Will Support the Special Commission, Provided It Controls It"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "If a representative of the opposition is appointed as chairman, opposition parliamentary clubs will agree to enter the secret services commission," we learned yesterday from Deputy Sejm Speaker Olga Krzyzanowska from the Freedom Union [UW].

On 23 June, the Sejm is to decide how many members are to sit on the first commission in the history of the Polish parliament that is to control the secret services (the Office of State Protection and the Military Information Services). Most probably, in line with the coalition's wishes, there will be seven members—two from the Democratic Left Alliance, two from the Polish Peasant Party, two from UW, and one from the Union of Labor [UP].

Because the coalition did not accept the opposition's initial proposal that the commission number eight members, with the coalition and opposition having four representatives each, UW and UP both announced they would boycott the project.

Currently, however, they are backing out of the threat and have entered talks on the head of the Secret Services Commission. "He should be a representative of the opposition, because the opposition should check the government. The government majority cannot check itself," claims Deputy Speaker Krzyzanowska.

Once the commission is established, it will be empowered to pass judgments on draft laws and regulations on the secret services, issue opinions on operational trends, review reports, and examine any complaints that are filed against them.

Prime Minister Encourages Foreign Investment

LD2106142495 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1035 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 21 Jun (PAP)—Over 100 bosses of large companies involved or interested in doing business in Poland are taking part in a two-day roundtable conference, which began in Warsaw today with the participation of representatives of the Polish Government. [passage omitted]

A speech by Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy lasted exactly an hour. "The time of Central Europe has come for foreign investors," he said. Poland has a market of 40-million people, good infrastructure, a qualified labor force; it is a country at the crossroads of the East-West trade route, without border and ethnic conflicts, and with a growing CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Association] free-trade zone around it. "But this is also a country of economic transformations carried out with efficiency and with well distributed social costs," he stressed.

Speaking about foreign policy the prime minister said: "In the coming years Poland will become a full member of the EU. We consider this a foregone conclusion. We hope that the Union will outline a schedule for this process in the immediate future. We are already

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

interested in the processes within the Union and we want to have an influence in shaping them."

"For three years we have been maintaining the high pace of economic growth at the level of over five percent per year. There is a dozen or so percent growth of industrial output, and the high growth in export and in currency reserves of the state testify to the good state of the economy. We are also recording a significant fall in unemployment, which is to be reduced by 250,000 this year, although it will still remain at the level of 14 percent. The government policy has been appreciated by the IMF and caused an increase in our credit credibility, a part of which being good relations with our creditors," the prime minister went on.

"This policy will continue," Oleksy assured. Listing economic priorities of his government, he mentioned maintaining the growth trend, speeding up the growth of the GNP through privatization, raising competitiveness, social insurance and health reforms, and the integration the EU and full liberalization of trade within CEFTA.

"We are doing everything that foreign capital feels equal, safe, and secure in Poland. We do not agree with the opinion that Poland is economically unstable and about the incidental character of the present opportunities."

Status of German Investment Analyzed

MM2106160695 Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 7 Jun 95 p 6

[Article by "ZET": "The Germans Are Coming: German Entrepreneurs Invested About $500 Million in Our Country in 1994"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When the first official business presentation, organized by the Wielkopolska Chamber of Industry and Commerce, and highlighting the economic profile of Poznan and its voivodship, took place in Berlin several weeks ago, Jan Szustkiewicz of the Commercial Consultancy Office was very busy persuading German entrepreneurs to take note of the advantages our region offered to investors: geographical proximity and a large consumer market. From their own experience, inhabitants of the border zone argue that these advantages should not be ignored. Last year alone, 74 million Polish and German citizens crossed the border between our countries, and the German side estimated the revenues from this particular variety of tourism at 930 million German marks [DM]. In the course of the past few years, the Polish side witnessed a dynamic development of the so-called fine processing industry. (For instance, German entrepreneurs in the textile and garment industry send us the fabrics from which Polish contractors then make shirts and blouses). However, neither the capacity nor the facilities available at our border crossing posts match the needs posed by the burgeoning commercial exchange.

The scale of the problem is best illustrated by the fact that during the past three years vehicle traffic at the Polish-German border has increased by the factor of 11 and the number of tourists crossing the border on foot saw a twentyfold increase. While we already have 17 border crossing posts in operation and a further seven under construction, comparison with the Czech Republic shows that the Czechs have 10 crossings more even though their commercial turnover with the Germans is far more modest.

Another argument which should be of much interest to the potential investors in our region is that, with the sum of $3,085 per head of population, Poznan Voivodship holds the third place in the country in the GDP tables (after Plock Voivodship with $4,800 and Warsaw Voivodship with $3,389). As regards the scale of investment risk, we are among the five safest regions identified in Central European countries. According to Piotr Kaczorowski of the Voivodship Office Business Department, German investors could become involved in enterprise restructuring and the construction of tourist facilities. In Poznan itself, there are development sites just waiting for them, such as, for example, the plots set aside for the construction of hotels and multistory car parks.

Our German partners have to date invested about $500 million in Poland. With all its economic might, our closest Western neighbor is only fourth in the league of foreign investors in Poland. This means that German capital is not in too much of a hurry to arrive in Poland. There are many reasons for this state of affairs. For many German investors Poland is not as attractive as the Czech Republic or Hungary. They are discouraged by Polish bureaucracy and by our inefficient banking system. In addition, they are uneasy about our social conflicts and political infighting. Despite all this, there are still many advocates of Polish interests in Germany. This is best attested to by the number of meetings an business presentations in which Polish entrepreneurs have been taking place recently. During one of such meetings, which was held in Munich, Detlef Moede, representing the Henkel company, reported that his firm had found in Poland a cadre of well-trained employees who were "prepared to make sacrifices": "For our work forces the question of working on weekends and official holidays does not present any problem at all." Furthermore, German businessmen visit Poland eagerly. This year they will be taking part for the 45th time in the Poznan International Trade Fair (a special installation

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

will be devoted to the promotion of Hesse at this year's, the 67th, Poznan International Trade Fair).

Without a doubt, the Polish economy needs an injection of foreign capital. The value of our neighbor's investment capital in Poland is estimated at more than DM800 million. That is not an excessive amount. After all, each year our Western neighbor invests almost DM30 billion abroad, and as much as DM200 billion in its own eastern Laender.

Army Seeks To Tighten Lithuanian Air Border

MM2106131495 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 6 Jun 95 p 5

[Article by "Krzyn": "Smugglers on the Wing: Most Illegal Aircraft Crossings to Poland Originate in Lithuania"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The phenomenon of repeated violation of our national airspace along the eastern border became more widespread last year," employees of the Press Spokesman's Office representing the Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army admit. "That is why this year additional radar stations have been installed there this year. How many and where? That is a military secret."

But it is not a secret that during the whole period of the Polish People's Republic our country's radar system was developed with the idea of protecting our border with the West. "Now that system has been made more airtight," Lieutenant Colonel Zdzislaw Gnatowski of the Chief of General Staff Press Spokesman's Office told us. "Nevertheless, there are still certain weak spots in it." Our interlocutor refused to explain precisely what he meant by "weak spots." According to unofficial information sources, the Polish radar system covers as little as 30 percent of our eastern border (though the Polish Army General Staff denies these reports), and in any case our radar equipment can only detect aircraft flying at altitudes of more than 100 meters.

Border Guard records state that last year more than 30 incidents involving violation of Polish airspace were detected. Jaroslaw Zukowicz of the Border Guard Chief Command told us that so far this year some 10 such incidents have already been reported. However, we were told unofficially that the real number of such cases is several times higher.

Our eastern air border is infringed mainly by small, light aircraft. "Once the National Air Defense Forces detect an alien aircraft over our national territory, they immediately inform the Border Guard and the police of the fact," we were told by officials at the Chief of the General Staff Press Spokesman's Office. At the same time a military helicopter is dispatched to follow the alien aircraft. (The Border Guard does not have a single helicopter of its own at its disposal). "It is very rarely that the command to shoot the intruder down is issued," a National Air Defense Force pilot deployed to patrol the eastern border told us in confidence. "We usually follow the alien aircraft and inform the police where it has touched down."

Police sources report that merchandise (cigarettes, occasionally drugs) and people are the "commodities" most often smuggled in from the East. However, the success rate of both the police and the Border Guard is by no means impressive. Last year, Border Guard officers caught a group of Asians intending to cross over to Germany, while the police apprehended two recipients of consignments of smuggled cigarettes.

Most often, foreign aircraft enter Polish airspace illegally from Lithuania. Smugglers take advantage of the fact that, as it was retreating from Lithuanian territory, the Red Army took with it all the radar equipment which it had earlier used to protect Lithuanian airspace. The Lithuanian National Defense Department suspects (although no monitoring operations to date have yielded any firm confirmation of their suspicions) that drugs are smuggled into Vilnius from Dubai, Lebanon, and Cyprus. They are then transported along illegal air channels either to Poland itself or, via Poland, to Western Europe.

Walesa Defends Independence of Public TV

LD2206121795 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 22 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa has again emphasized that public television must be independent and that he will fight for it. The president is taking part in a meeting of the board of Polish Television which started at 1100 hours [0900 GMT].

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, have you come here to defend [Polish Television] Chairman Walendziak?

[Begin Walesa recording] Is the situation really so bad? I have already said what I knew, that we all have to fight for the independence of media, particularly of the state-owned ones. It is in the interest of all of us to retain their independence. This is what we are going to discuss here.

It is probably in our joint interest that television should be public, that no force should dominate over television. Perhaps the period in which you [addressed to Wieslaw Walendziak] have been chairman has been sufficient to prove that not even once has there been any intervention

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

on my part infringing the independence of television. However, many times I have been suspected of wanting to dominate, lead, or take away independence. [end recording]

Walesa Discusses Presidential Election

LD2106193795 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Jun 95

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish; passages in quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa said at a meeting with parliamentarians from the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR], and Solidarity that without proper political backup he will not run in the presidential elections. The president and deputies from three opposition parliamentary floor groups announced that they will defend the independence of public television.

The president said that he does not believe that the patriotic and independence-oriented camp will field only one candidate in the presidential elections. In his opinion, politicians' ambitions will prevent this. The president said, however, that he will work on his political support and that he is counting primarily on cooperation with parliamentarians from the BBWR, KPN, and Solidarity. This should result in the formation of an alliance.

[Walesa] "I will not be a candidate until there is agreement, or the prospect of an agreement, because I know about politics. I do not want to lose completely, for my own sake and for the sake of my children."

[Reporter] The president was asked whether he will withdraw as a candidate if the church authorities, for example the primate, ask him to do so.

[Walesa] "I am a faithful son of the church."

[Reporter] The president and the parliamentarians were of the opinion that their agreement should concern not only the presidential elections.

[Krzysztof Krol, KPN—identified by screen caption] "When the president's powers are not extensive it is more important to win the parliamentary elections."

[Reporter] The president said that he was not a supporter of Wieslaw Walendziak when he became chairman of public television because he thought that he did not have sufficient experience. Now the president has changed his mind and will defend the independence of public television, which is being threatened by the coalition.

Lech Walesa, the KPN, the BBWR, and Solidarity said that they will work together on the future constitution. The president admitted that he thinks the draft constitution prepared by Solidarity is better than the one prepared by his Chancellery. He also criticized the draft which is being prepared by the Constitutional Commission of the current parliament.

OBOP Poll Ranks Presidential Candidates

WS2106144495 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20 Jun 95 p 2

[Report by "NIKA": "OBOP. Presidential Ranking; President Gronkiewicz-Waltz Makes a Good Start"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The June presidential ranking was least favorable for [First President of the Supreme Court] Strzembosz, who lost as much as half of his constituency. "The dark horse" this month was Gronkiewicz-Waltz, who already had 6 percent of support upon entering the polls. Kwasniewski is traditionally in the lead. Walesa has caught up with Jacek Kuron, with whom he now occupies second place.

Support for Aleksander Kwasniewski, who has already launched his campaign, is currently 23 percent. He noted a huge surge in popularity between the months of April and May, when he was officially announced to be a presidential candidate and hopefuls representing the same political camp were removed from the lists.

Second place, with a support of 11 percent, is shared by Jacek Kuron who lost 3 percent of supporters, and Lech Walesa whose popularity grew from the previously noted 7 percent. Tadeusz Zielinski is stable with 9 percent.

Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz had 6 percent of supporters from the very moment the Center for Research on Public Opinion [OBOP] placed her name on its list (making her more popular than any other rightist candidate). Andrzej Olechowski has the same number of supporters.

Adam Strzembosz and Zbigniew Religa have 4 percent each. The number of those who want to vote for the renowned cardiac surgeon [Religa] remains unchanged. The first president of the Supreme Court now has twice as few supporters as he did a month ago.

As far as the remaining candidates are concerned, 3 percent declare their support for Leszek Moczulski, and both hopefuls from the Polish Peasant Party—Jozef Zych and Waldemar Pawlak. Jan Olszewski and Janusz Korwin-Mikke net 2 percent support each.

As much as 79 percent currently declare a willingness to take part in the presidential elections. Only 57 percent, however, are positive they will in fact vote. For the time being, Walesa's, Kwasniewski's, and Zielinski's supporters are the most determined to back their

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

favorites. The constituency of the civil rights spokesman [Zielinski], however, is becoming increasingly more active. Those who are considering voting for Kuron and Gronkiewicz-Waltz find it most difficult to declare whether they will actually vote.

The largest constituency that will definitely support a specific candidate, accounting also for the votes accumulated in the second round of elections, backs Kwasniewski. Many people support Kuron (although their number is smaller than it was one month ago) and Zielinski. The president of the National Bank of Poland has less support.

Zych could net more support than Pawlak in both rounds. Support for him has recently grown and is currently nearly twice as high as that for Pawlak. Walesa has a small "army of voters in reserve," although that group has also begun growing lately.

The poll was carried out by OBOP on 10-13 June with a sample group of 1,100 people; 1,041 of those polled were Poles above the age of 18.

Daily Compares Two Jun Presidential Polls

WS2206082595 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Jun 95 p 2

[Report by "NIKA": "Waltz and Walesa Move Up"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday we presented the results of a poll carried out by the Center for Research on Public Opinion [OBOP]. Today we would like to present the results of a poll by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS]. Both show Aleksander Kwasniewski to have the widest support.

The leaders in the two polls are Lech Walesa, Jacek Kuron, and Tadeusz Zielinski. The only novelty is that the president of the National Bank of Poland has joined that group. The CBOS poll showed support for Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz to be twice as high as indicated by OBOP (6 percent). Sociologists claim this may be due to the fact that the name of Andrzej Olechowski was not on the list, whereas it was present in the OBOP ranking.

The second major difference is the place Kuron occupies. OBOP gave him second place together with Walesa, but the CBOS poll lists him in fifth position.

We wrote yesterday that Waldemar Pawlak has the same number of supporters as Jozef Zych. The new poll shows Pawlak to have twice as much support as the former prime minister. The differences do not, however, exceed the limits of the sampling error which is estimated at plus or minus 3 percent.

CBOS: Who Will We Support in the Presidential Election?

	Percent
Aleksander Kwasniewski	25
Lech Walesa	12
Tadeusz Zielinski	11
Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz	11
Jacek Kuron	10
Jozef Zych	6
Adam Strzembosz	5
Waldemar Pawlak	3
Jan Olszewski	3
Zbigniew Religa	3
Lesz[illegible]Moczulski	2
Janusz Korwin-Mikke	2

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

* * *

The poll was carried out by CBOS on 8-12 June on a sampling group of 1,172 Poles.

Rightists To Participate in Church 'Primaries'

WS2106132495 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Igor Zalewski: "The Right. Hearings of 'Candidates for Candidates' for the Presidency; Krzaklewski's Tour"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *After talks with the Solidarity chairman, Adam Strzembosz decided to take part in St. Catherine Covenant's primaries.*

Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski met with Primate Jozef Glemp, then with Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych, and finally with Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz and Adam Strzembosz on the presbytery grounds of St. Catherine's Church.

As a result of that last meeting, as we have learned from Andrzej Anusz of St. Catherine's Covenant, Professor Strzembosz decided to take part in the primaries to be held by the Covenant. The group, as we may remember, is comprised of several minor rightist groupings, among them the Movement for the Republic, the Christian-Democrat Party, the Movement for the Third Republic [RTR], and larger parties such as the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], the Peasant Agreement [PL], and Solidarity. Strzembosz is also backed by PL, the Peasant Christian Party, the Conservative Party [PK], and the Conservative Coalition. He may moreover count on the support of some 50 civic committees.

The leaders of parties supporting Strzembosz were against his "pilgrimage" to the Covenant, claiming that would place him on a par with politicians the professor's supporters had deemed "insignificant." Rumors have recently begun spreading that Strzembosz might withdraw from running in the elections. "Taking part in the primaries would allow him to withdraw without losing face," says a supporter of Strzembosz who claims that Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz—with her soaring popularity in opinion polls—is a surefire favorite in the Covenant primaries.

PK Chairman Aleksander Hall assured ZYCIE WARSZAWY that Strzembosz will not back out and may still count on the loyal support of the conservatists. According to Hall, Strzembosz's electoral committees, which are comprised of people with various backgrounds, are a capital that must not be wasted. Hall also claims that the professor, "seeing his candidacy as a service," will withdraw if a better candidate shows up. The judge himself has declared so.

The Covenant's primaries may have several rounds, among them the so-called conclave, during which hopefuls would select the best candidate from among their number. The final arbiter would be someone considered a "moral authority," most probably a clergyman. If a candidate is elected, his rivals may just as well hold their appetites.

Yesterday afternoon, the Covenant launched hearings of the "candidates for candidates." Roman Ciesielski withdrew from the primaries. The remaining hopefuls, apart from Strzembosz and Gronkiewicz-Waltz, are Henryk Bak from PL, Jan Parys from RTR, Leszek Moczulski from KPN, former Prime Minister Jan Olszewski, and representative of the independence camp Wojciech Ziembinski.

Strzembosz's decision to take part in the primaries is viewed as a huge achievement of Marian Krzaklewski, who is gradually taking over as an organizer and arbiter on the right. He recently said that the primaries are merely the quarterfinals. Strzembosz, Gronkiewicz-Waltz, and Lech Walesa are most likely to make it to the finals.

After yesterday's meeting with Primate Glemp, the Solidarity chairman said that the church should lend its authority in support of the right's joint candidate. The trade union leader claims that the church is observing the attempts at nominating the candidate with a favorable eye. Krzaklewski assured, however, that the church itself is not taking any part "because it is not a political party."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Funar Warns About Proposals to Hungarian Treaty

AU2106135595 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 19 Jun 95 p 1

[Article by P.H.: "Funar Predicts 'Small Hungarys' All Over the Country"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A communique signed by PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] President Gheorghe Funar reiterates the proposal made three months ago to President Ion Iliescu expeditiously to host a meeting at Cotroceni Palace with the delegations of the political parties represented in Parliament on the draft Romanian-Hungarian treaty.

The PUNR leader explicitly refers to the recent compromise proposals intended to speed up the signing of the basic treaty, terming them as factors that would generate further linguistically handicapped people belonging to Romania's 17 ethnic minority groups, who will only be able to integrate within Romanian society with the assistance of interpreters.

In Funar's opinion the Romanian-Hungarian treaty, in its most recently negotiated form, creates the preconditions for several small Hungaries to appear in Romania, for the triggering of internethnic conflicts, followed by the deployment of Blue Helmets and Transylvania's annexation to Hungary.

FDGR Protests Senate's Draft Education Bill

AU2106202595 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 17-18 Jun 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Ethnic Germans Criticize the Draft Education Bill"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Democratic Forum of Germans in Romania [FDGR] released a communique saying that the draft education bill, in the form it was passed by the Romanian Senate, triggered the protest of the ethnic Germans besides those of the ethnic Hungarians.

Mr. Paul Philippi [FDGR chairman] expressed his concern over the contents of the bill to Education Minister Liviu Maior before the ballot in the Senate. Now they have addressed their protest to other state officials, namely President Ion Iliescu, Government Secretary General Viorel Hrebenciuc, and Oliviu Gherman and Adrian Nastase, the speakers of the two parliament chambers, pointing out that the elaborated text is unacceptable from the point of view of the German ethnic minority.

The FDGR draws attention to the fact that the decision of the senate regarding ethnic minorities' education runs counter to national tradition, as the education of ethnic minorities whose homeland is Romania has been going on since the 14th century, and was accepted as such by the Romanian state in the interwar period.

ZIUA Staff Reportedly Receiving Death Threats

AU2106121895 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 17-18 Jun 95 p 3

[Article by Diana Boicescu: "The Reporters Are Not Afraid To Go to Trial"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The journalists on the daily ZIUA [which published documents claiming Iliescu had been recruited by the KGB during his student years in Moscow] held a news conference yesterday at 1200 at the Atlantic discotheque in the Floreasca district of Bucharest. They said that their daily intends to remain a censor of the political power, regardless of who is ruling, and therefore ZIUA will always criticize the "captain."

The tension between them and President Iliescu was the main issue discussed at the news conference, which is only normal considering the importance of the personalities involved. The defendants [Iliescu is suing them] are not afraid to go on public trial and said that they have evidence proving their claims, which are not "inventions." In the opinion of Sorin Rosca Stanescu, the director of the daily, the presidency is taking a risk by going to court. At the time he was recruited, Ion Iliescu, the student, was neither a public authority nor Romania's president, pointed out the director of the daily. As to what happened on 22 December 1989, the one to blame for it is citizen Ion Iliescu, who at that time did not hold any political office.

In the event that the trial will not take the course expected by the daily, the ZIUA people will request that it should be moved abroad, in which case they would hire an attorney from the United States, said Sorin Rosca Stanescu.

One old practice has been revived, the journalists claimed: Since the first revealing articles were published, they have been continuously receiving letters and telephone calls from individuals threatening to kill them. In addition, the newspaper's head office has twice been broken into, which they intend to use as evidence in court.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Kucan Views EU Issue, Relations With Italy

BR2106143095 Milan IL SOLE-24 ORE in Italian 21 Jun 95 p 21

[Interview with President Milan Kucan by an unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Strategies on EU, Italy, Development"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The president of the Slovenian Republic, Milan Kucan, answered some questions from IL SOLE-24 ORE. We publish below a summary of his answers.

[IL SOLE-24 ORE] Would you be kind enough to give us an economic assessment of Slovenia's first four years of independence?

[Kucan] Of the countries in transition, Slovenia is among those that have progressed most rapidly in the economic transformation process. A special study made in 1994 ranked Slovenia third among the East European countries, immediately after the Czech Republic and Hungary. We have the highest per capita GDP: In 1994 it was above $7,000, with a level of exports equivalent to 60 percent, 70 percent of which are to the EU. Last year economic growth was 4 percent. Of course, the process requires further efforts. The level of inflation, which was 19 percent in 1994, must fall to 10 percent in 1995. The reform of the financial and business sector must be completed by the end of 1996 at the latest. Slovenia now needs to renew its industrial apparatus. We must also cut public spending. Last, we must succeed in limiting labor costs in order to be more competitive. To export is an absolute imperative for us.

[IL SOLE-24 ORE] Has Slovenia not yet obtained the go-ahead for association with the EU?

[Kucan] The fact is that the threshold for acceding to an association agreement is rising higher and higher. Now conditions are being imposed on us that were not previously set on other countries which obtained associate membership status. I believe that what is happening is unfair, particularly because Slovenia's positive credentials are not confined to the economy but extend to the level of democracy achieved, respect for human rights, and the protection of minorities. Slovenia demands not preferential treatment but parity in conditions of assessment with other countries. Last, I would like to point out that Slovenia satisfies not only sufficient economic criteria for association with the Community but also satisfies two of the most important conditions for becoming a member—namely, a public deficit no higher than 3 percent and a public debt below 60 percent of GDP.

[IL SOLE-24 ORE] The impression remains that both the citizens and the government are unsure about Europe.

[Kucan] For Slovenia, entry into the European Union is a major step. So it is natural for benefits and advantages to be assessed, but also for the risks, the country's weaknesses, to be considered. In general terms, the problem is the protection of Slovenia's identity. From the economic viewpoint, the basic question is whether Slovenia is "ready" for Europe, whether it will succeed in being competitive. We are also examining some specific issues in relation to European integration such as agricultural development prospects, environmental protection, the repercussions on employment and on the country's scientific potential. However, the basic fact remains that the interest in Slovenia's rapid approach, and subsequent accession, to the EU occurs mainly in economic circles. An opinion poll conducted by the Slovenian Economic Chamber showed that no less than 92 percent of factory managers were in favor of accession to the EU. They believe that Slovenia will be in a position to become a full member by the year 2005.

[IL SOLE-24 ORE] Is it possible to improve the difficult relations between Italy and Slovenia?

[Kucan] There is one thing that I would like to say first of all: If the final word lay with those involved in the world of the economy, technology, culture, science, or even sport, the problems that have recently obstructed our relations would have been resolved some time ago. Instead, we have allowed our relations to be influenced by a number of problems originating from the past. The problems have been politicized, with the result that a solution has become more difficult. Nevertheless I remain optimistic, and I proceed in this from the fact that we live, and must live, together in this corner of Europe. The rationale on which to build our projects, if we really believe in our future and in the future of Europe, cannot be the past. Be that as it may, I would like to point out that bilateral relations between Italy and Slovenia are in fact already regulated very precisely by a series of agreements. With the exchange of diplomatic notes of 1992, Slovenia recognized all the agreements reached between the former Yugoslavia and Italy, including the Osimo and Rome Agreements, which definitively established mutual obligations including compensation for the assets of those who opted for Italian citizenship. Of course, these agreements can still be subject to additions. New solutions are always possible, but, I stress, all this can only happen by means of another agreement that will recognize the equality of the contracting parties and full respect for both sides' interests. I would also like to point out that Italy is Slovenia's second largest trading partner and

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

that cooperation is particularly important for the border regions. Do we want to ignore this situation simply because we are unable to transcend the past?

[IL SOLE-24 ORE] How can tension be reduced in Central Europe?

[Kucan] Since the collapse of the Iron Curtain, which was a divisive element, Central Europe has rediscovered its own specific spiritual roots. Apart from this, there is the existence of common economic and commercial interests, the need to cooperate in the technological field—which none of the states of the area challenges—and the desire for integration within the European context. We have the will and the resources in terms of materials, expertise, and technically and culturally qualified people capable of making a substantial contribution of ideas and initiatives. And that is not all, because we also share the principles of tolerance and the ability to recognize the right to diversity necessary to carry forward this process which concerns the whole of Europe, to which we are bound by a great many common interests. Let us not forget that we are all in the same boat.

[IL SOLE-24 ORE] Who and what works against this trend?

[Kucan] The process that I have indicated will grind to a halt if new barriers are raised, if people hide behind prejudices, close in on themselves. All this leads sooner or later to a state of potential conflict. New differences are created. This situation is exacerbated by the inability to cooperate on an equal footing. This increases instability, instead of strengthening peace and the climate of peace to which the European people aspire.

Establishment of Defense Headquarters Reported

AU2106185195 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 16 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Vodusek: "Decision That Will Definitely Not Go Unnoticed"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ljubljana, 15 Jun—The surprising information about the formation of the operative defense headquarters at the last government session—the decision was casually disclosed by Jelko Kacin at a news conference yesterday—will definitely not go unnoticed. The operative headquarters, which the Defense Law envisages for times of war, is definitely a reply to a polemic of several years between the government and the president about the formation of the national security council. [passage omitted]

The decision to form the operative defense headquarters is surprising primarily because the country is not at war and, on top of this, the headquarters is chaired by Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek and not Defense Minister Jelko Kacin or President Milan Kucan, supreme commander of the Armed Forces. [passage omitted]

The government decided on the appointment of the operative defense headquarters, led by Prime Minister Drnovsek with the defense minister as his deputy, at its last session. The institution will definitely also include the interior minister and the foreign minister as well as the directors of both intelligence services. The government decided that a representative of the president of the state should be allowed to attend the sessions of the operative defense headquarters.

The battle for the national security council is not surprising as this institution is a focal point with the highest concentration of classified information procured primarily by the intelligence services. The problem has been the subject of political consultations of Prime Minister Drnovsek, who, with the appointment of the operative defense headquarters, cut through the polemic about the formation of such an institute. The president of the state, who in his latest public appearance stressed the need for the formation of the national security council, at the time probably already held information about the formation of the operative defense headquarters, and if he did not, then his lack of information was already a consequence of the activity of the operative defense headquarters. In a television interview, Kucan said he regretted the fact that Slovenia could not find the strength to form a national security council, which he said should be a government-based institution that would verify decisions.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Federal

FRY, Bulgarian Ministers Survey Balkan Issues

LD2106172895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1102 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—The Balkan region is still unstable as a zone, with states having different degrees of interest in various problems, so there cannot be a uniform recipe for resolving these problems, Bulgarian Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski said in a statement to TANJUG at the end of his three-day official visit to Yugoslavia.

Asked whether, nevertheless, it is possible to say there is some kind of general interest on the basis of which the Balkans can be assisted in ceasing to be an exporter of instability as it has been over the past few centuries, Pirinski assesses that the best thing would be if the European and world powers apply the method they used after World War II vis-a-vis Europe.

This means, above all, that they should not seek new balances of interest but should try to go for lasting solutions, which is the basic path to follow if the Balkans are to cease to be an arena for conflict between foreign interests, and they should enter the stage of searching for a lasting balance.

Such an approach implies that no one should feel frightened and no one should try to extend their influence at the expense of others. After this, standards could be applied such as exist in West Europe and they would make a period of development possible.

As regards relations with Yugoslavia, it is particularly important for Bulgaria, that during its visit the delegation assured itself that Yugoslavia is categorically orientated toward a peaceful end to the war crisis and favors seeking a real and lasting political solution. At the same time, the Bulgarian position was accepted objectively. This position is similar to Yugoslavia's as regards the search for a peaceful solution. This, of course, implies the application of uniform standards and the equal treatment of all sides to the conflict, Pirinski stressed.

It is also very important to understand that it is necessary for neighboring countries which are close to the zone of conflict not to become involved in them in any way, nor to participate in operations of any sort. The Yugoslav side supports this stance, the Bulgarian foreign minister said.

Minister Pirinski also said that the Yugoslav side is convinced that the lifting of the sanctions as soon as possible is of great importance for Bulgaria. The quickest way to achieve this is within the framework of a political solution. This framework would be attractive to most of the international community, he said.

Of course, the Bulgarian minister said, in Belgrade we discussed real possibilities for cooperation under the present conditions as well as our cooperation once the sanctions have been lifted. It is also important to create a generally good atmosphere not only in the economic sphere—which is of prime importance—but also in other fields.

In such an atmosphere, it is possible to discuss concrete issues. I discussed with my Yugoslav hosts the issues of our minority in Yugoslavia. The talks were held in a constructive spirit which promises progress, the Bulgarian minister stressed. The Bulgarian side lays emphasis on this question because the minority issue has stirred up some passions on the Bulgarian political scene.

Replying to a question on how Bulgaria views its own and the general Balkan inclusion in European integration processes, the Bulgarian minister said that the Bulgarian and Yugoslav sides concluded that they share a joint interest in this respect and in the need to introduce European standards in relations between certain countries, which should also be applied in the sphere of internal policies, the economy, the infrastructure, and transportation.

This would also help to create a different political culture in the Balkans and would act as a defense against retrograde and nationalist tendencies. It is also clear that individual Balkan countries cannot join Europe if they are in conflict with their neighbors. In this way I believe that we have better chances of emerging from the "powder keg" context, the Bulgarian minister said.

Here the question also arose of objectivity and the behavior of European institutions toward individual states, since practice often differs from declarations.

Minister Pirinski admitted the existence of this dilemma, citing as an example the attitude of European institutions toward Turkey. This is an example of promoting political factors and interests above principles.

However, even among the European institutions differing tendencies can be discerned so that this issue should not be judged from one angle only. Turkey has also sometimes been sharply criticized. This is indicative of tendencies toward an objective approach which allows for the possibility of protecting the interests and needs of smaller states such as Bulgaria, Bulgarian minister Georgi Pirinski concluded in his statement to TANJUG.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Urge Lifting of Sanctions

LD2106122095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1120 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, June 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav and Bulgarian foreign ministers Vladislav Jovanovic and Georgi Pirinski agreed during three-day talks in Belgrade that the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia will bring about peace in the Balkans, the Sofia daily DUMA said Wednesday [21 June].

The daily quoted Pirinski as saying that the Yugoslav side had unequivocally confirmed Yugoslavia's wish to seek a peaceful political settlement of the conflict.

The way to the peaceful settlement goes through the lifting of the sanctions as the most important condition for the assuaging of the conflict, Pirinski said.

He reiterated that the Bulgarian Government favored a parallel seeking of the political settlement of the Bosnian conflict and the easing of the sanctions against Yugoslavia and their subsequent definitive lifting.

Referring to Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations, Pirinski said the sanctions so far restricted economic cooperation but there was no reason to refrain from making contacts concerning intensifying relations once the sanctions against Yugoslavia were lifted.

The daily quoted Pirinski as saying that all meetings with Yugoslav officials in Belgrade had focused also on the position of the Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia.

"The Yugoslav side voiced readiness to impartially and responsibly consider all minority issues raised by the Bulgarian side," Pirinski said.

Jovanovic Views Trip to Israel, Jordan, Egypt

AU2106194795 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 Jun 95

[Interview with Assistant Federal Foreign Minister Zivadin Jovanovic by Nada Dragic Radosavljevic; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Assistant Federal Foreign Minister Zivadin Jovanovic has ended his visit to Israel, Jordan, and Egypt. This was the first visit to the Middle East countries at this level after three and half years. Here is how the assistant foreign minister has assessed his talks in these countries in an interview given to a DNEVNIK reporter.

[Jovanovic] In addition to the talks with representatives of foreign ministries in all three countries, we also had the opportunity to hold talks with representatives of other government and nongovernment organizations and businessmen. In all our contacts we noted openness and a willingness for renewing contacts and preparing conditions for the renewal of cooperation with these countries that used to be important partners in cooperation.

[Radosavljevic] All three countries, two of which are Islamic countries, Egypt and Jordan, assess highly the peace efforts of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

[Jovanovic] The invaluable peace role by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the process of resolving the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and problems in relations between the republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia was noted in all the talks.

[Radosavljevic] In Egypt, you also held talks with Arab League officials. The Arab League's headquarters is in Cairo. How do Arab League officials view the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's peace policy?

[Jovanovic] This organization, which binds together the work of all Arab countries, has a greater understanding of Yugoslavia's positions. Efforts are now being made to involve the League in the more objective interpretation of the causes and consequences of the Yugoslav crisis, and Yugoslavia's peaceful policy toward all of its members. In this context, we were assured that our positions, which we have presented to the deputy secretary general of the Arab League, will be conveyed to all the members. This will make the picture of the current knowledge more complete.

[Radosavljevic] Thank you for the interview.

TANJUG Issues Annual Editorial Policy

LD2106233795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1608 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—The management board of the TANJUG news agency today established the statute and the financial and editorial policy of the agency for this year.

The main element of TANJUG's editorial policy this year, in the view of the management board, must be, as hitherto, objective and professional reporting on the basic developments in Yugoslav internal and foreign policy and the reactions to these developments in the international community.

The greatest efforts of TANJUG's editorial offices and journalists, in view of the political juncture at which the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia finds itself, are orientated towards affirming the standpoints of our country in resolving the crisis in this area.

TANJUG's general commitment is to represent the interests of the country. This is in keeping with national

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

interests and the interests of all citizens—and these are peace, and the just resolution of the crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia.

It was pointed out that TANJUG forms the backbone of the Yugoslav information system and this role has become particularly prominent in the conditions of the international embargo. [passage omitted]

Army Receives New Antiarmor Systems

AU1306164095 Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 94 pp 24-25

[Article by Dragomir C. Ivanovic: "Greater Range and Efficiency"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In addition to the existing deadly classical armor-piercing weapons in the service in the VJ [Yugoslav Army], such as the Malyutka [Sagger], portable rocket launchers, rifle-launched hollow-charge grenades, and recoilless guns, new modern weapons and systems for antiarmor combat for short, medium, and long range have been and are being introduced. This significantly changes the quality and meaning of the PoB [antiarmor combat] and imposes the need to change tactical operations and actions on the battlefield.

The development of modern armored combat vehicles in the world and their introduction into operations have imposed on our army the need to master the mass production of weapons for antiarmor combat. The concept of using these weapons demands that they be light, portable, mobile, and simple to use in combat and training, that they facilitate antiarmor combat from short, medium, and long distances, and that they can penetrate all modern, especially active-reactive and sandwich armor, from a distance of 20 meters to 10,000 meters. All these armor-piercing weapons require a high degree of accuracy, which should be between 70 and 95 percent, and the ability to penetrate 500-mm-to-1,000-mm armor. The focus of development is on rocket technology in conjunction with optoelectronic devices that are difficult to jam. Several types of self-guiding systems are in use: IC [infra red], laser, radio-guided, and wire-guided.

These devices make it possible for antiarmor combat to become the main feature of combat actions.

The Kobra is the latest domestically produced type of armor-piercing weapon. It is intended for the destruction of armored vehicles from the flank or the front. It is used to block narrow passages for tanks (passages, gorges, mountain passes...). It uses a highly penetrative 120-mm hollow-charge projectile. It consists of a launch barrel with tripod, a rocket projectile, and a contact fuse.

Kobra

Caliber	120 mm
Penetration	Over 800 mm
Range	150 meters
Dispersion on 50 meters	0.5.05 meters (as published)
Temperature range	From - 30C to + 50C degrees
Projectile's weight	14.5 kg

The 64-mm Zolja M-80 portable rocket launcher is a widely used [masovno] individual weapon for firing a single missile at armored vehicles from up to 300 meters away and at field fortifications up to 400 meters away. It is light, reliable, and simple to use.

The 90-mm Osa portable rocket launcher is a recoilless armor-piercing weapon intended to disable and destroy modern armored combat vehicles from up to 350 meters away, and field fortifications and bunkers from up to 600 meters away. It uses a hollow-charge 90-mm rocket with a safety fuse.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Osa

Caliber	90 mm
Range	1,960 meters
Muzzle velocity	250 m/s
Penetration	Over 400 mm
Weight of container with rocket	5.1 kg
Weight of rocket	3.5 kg
Weight of container	1.51 kg

The M-91 120-mm portable rocket launcher is also an individual armor-piercing weapon for firing a single missile. It can destroy modern armored combat vehicles, field fortifications, and bunkers from up to 400 meters away. The weapon has a high penetration capability, and it is accurate, reliable, and simple to use in combat and training.

The 9K111M Fagot antiarmor system is a modern system for antiarmor combat of the second technological generation. It has a semiautomatic rocket guidance system. The system is simple to use and simple for training. It is for the destruction of armored combat vehicles, field fortifications, and bunkers at a distance of 70 to 2,500 meters.

Fagot

Caliber	120 mm
Crew	Three men
Guidance system	Command, semiautomatic on wire
Field of action	360 degrees directional and 20 degrees in height
Range	75-2,500 meters
Probability of hitting target	Over 90 percent
Rate of firing	Three rockets per minute
Muzzle velocity	80 m/s
Penetration	Up to 400 mm

The Drug armor-piercing system is a light, portable, domestically produced weapon of medium range with a semiautomatic guidance system. It is for the destruction of modern armored combat vehicles and field fortifications (bunkers) at a distance of from 100 meters to 2,000 meters. It consists of a launcher and rocket placed inside the barrel, which is simultaneously used for transporting and launching rockets. With small modifications, the range can be increased up to 3,000 meters, and, by using a tandem warhead, it can penetrate 900-mm steel plate.

The Bumbar armor-piercing system is a light, portable, antiarmor, short-range system of the second technological generation (with two characteristics of the third generation) with a semiautomatic guidance system for close antiarmor combat. The system is for the destruction of modern armored combat vehicles in different conditions. It is suitable for combat in urban areas and for firing from enclosed areas, considering that it "gently" launches rockets with a muzzle velocity of 20 m/s.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Bumbar

Caliber	136 mm
Guidance system	Command-guided, with microcable for sending commands
Crew	Two men
Minimum range	60 meters
Maximum range	600 meters

The 100-mm M-91 Topaz armor piercing gun is a modern domestically produced tow-type artillery piece. It is for disabling and destroying armored combat vehicles and field fortifications from up to 3,000 meters away. It is characterized by its greater fire power, high accuracy, and high rate of firing. The artillery piece has its own fire control system (SUV) with a laser rangefinder.

Topaz

Caliber	100 mm
Range	3,000 meters
Probability of hitting moving target	Over 70 percent
Traverse	360 degrees
Depression/elevation	- 5 to + 18 degrees
Penetration	600 mm
Probability of hitting target	Over 95 percent
Muzzle velocity	20 m/s
Maximum speed	250 m/s
Type of warhead	Tandem hollow-charge shell

The development of domestic science and technology facilitates the production of new and the modernization of existing armor-piercing systems. Development is mainly directed toward increasing the efficiency and range of projectiles, modernizing sighting devices and the fire control system, the introduction of optoelectronic and thermovisual devices and systems.

With the mass introduction of these new, modern armor-piercing weapons, the VJ now has powerful and efficient weapons that facilitate the grouping of forces, focusing of the center of activity, and greater maneuverability in a modern war theater requiring greater mobility of both commands and units. Because of this, the efficiency of the antiarmor systems has been increased several times. All this has direct influence on the tactical principles of using armor-piercing weapons, vehicles, and units on the front.

Serbia

Milosevic To Receive UN, EU Mediators

AU2106182695 Paris AFP in English 1744 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 21 (AFP)—The new European Union (EU) mediator on the former Yugoslavia, Carl Bildt, and his UN counterpart Thorvald Stoltenberg, arrived here Wednesday for his first talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. The three men are due to meet on Thursday, said sources close to the Serbian presidency.

The mediators arrived from Zagreb, where they had talks earlier with Croatian presidency spokesman Hrvoje

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Sarinic. They also met the UN special envoy, Yasushi Akashi. Bildt told the press after meeting Sarinic that the warring sides must return to the negotiating table "as there is a lack of confidence." Stoltenberg was pessimistic, observing that restarting the peace process was "more difficult now" than at the beginning of last year.

On Tuesday the two mediators had talks in Mostar, southern Bosnia, with a the Bosnian minister for relations with the UN, Hasan Muratovic. Bildt has ruled out going to the Bosnian Serb stronghold, Pale, for talks at this time. Bosnian Serb deputy leader Momcilo Krajisnik said Bildt had committed "a serious error," in refusing to negotiate with the Serbs. His mission was "doomed to failure," he told the FONET news agency Wednesday.

The progovernment Yugoslav daily BORBA said Wednesday that Bildt had been given broader powers by the EU than his predecessor, Lord Owen. The former Swedish prime minister was described in the paper as: "persevering, meticulous, methodical and sometimes arrogant," and a man admired for "his talents as a mediator capable of finding brilliant compromise solutions."

Renewed Peace Dialogue Sought

LD2206085495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0823 GMT 22 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 22 June (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received the new cochairman of the conference on former Yugoslavia, Carl Bildt.

Bildt is visiting Belgrade and meeting the Serbian president for the first time since his appointment as the cochairman. Cochairman Torvald Stoltenberg arrived together with Bildt.

It has been unofficially learnt that the cochairmen are on this mission in order to gain an insight into all the aspects of the newly created situation on the territory of former Yugoslavia, in order to determine whether there are bases for the renewal of peace dialogue.

Milosevic, ICRC President Urge Revived Peace

LD2106180995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1724 GMT 21 Jun 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 21 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and president of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) Cornelio Sommaruga said here Wednesday that effective efforts were needed for reviving the peace efforts in former Yugoslavia.

They agreed that a stable peace in the former Yugoslavia would put an end to civilian suffering, said a statement released from the presidential cabinet.

Milosevic's talk with Sommaruga and his associates focused on humanitarian relief aid to civilians in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, the statement said.

The two sides discussed activities of the ICRC on alleviating the effects of the civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it said.

Serbia highly appreciates the humanitarian activities of the ICRC as a significant element in the process of normalizing the relations in the war zones, the statement quoted the participants as saying.

Milosevic backed the organization's activities, as well as free and unimpeded movement of humanitarian convoys and their access to the affected areas, the statement said.

Montenegro

Deputy Parliamentary Speaker Dismissed

LD2106161195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1019 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Podgorica, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—The Assembly of Montenegro today dismissed parliamentary deputy speaker Drago Bakrac, deputy of the Serbian Radical Party (SRS).

Of the 47 deputies who voted, 43 voted in favor of his dismissal and four deputies abstained. The Liberal Alliance (LS), People's Party, and SRS did not take part in the vote.

The Montenegrin Assembly now has only one deputy speaker—Srdja Bozovic of the ruling Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS].

Yesterday, LS Deputy Dzemal Perovic submitted his resignation from the post of deputy speaker in parliament, stating that he was doing so in protest at the dismissal of Bakrac.

Following this dismissal and resignation, the leadership of the Montenegrin parliament has now become one-party, as happened earlier with the republican government. [passage omitted]

Kosovo

ICRC Personnel Visit Albanian Prisoners

AU2106185895 Paris AFP in English 1815 GMT 21 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, Yugoslavia, June 21 (AFP)—Members of the International Committee of the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Red Cross [ICRC] have visited in Kosovo jails ethnic Albanian prisoners accused of separatist activities, an ICRC spokesman said Wednesday. Authorities in Belgrade allowed the ICRC to visit the prisoners to gauge the conditions of their detention, Francois Stamm, head of the ICRC mission to Kosovo and Montenegro in southern Yugoslavia, told AFP. Stamm said ICRC members were able to talk to prisoners in Prizren, Pec, Gnjilane and Pristina in the presence of prison officials.

At the end of last year Serb authorities arrested more than 200 Albanians—former staff members of the Serb ministry of the interior who were sacked after the repeal by Belgrade in 1989 of autonomy in Kosovo. Of the group, 158 have been charged. A group of 72 ex-policemen accused of having created a ministry of the interior of the republic of Kosovo proclaimed in secret in September 1992 have been on trial since the beginning of June in Pristina.

Another group of 44 former policemen are on trial in Prizren. Last April, 16 former policemen were sentenced at Pec to jail terms of between one and six years while 16 former policemen were sentenced on June 8 by a court in Gnjilane to prison terms ranging from six months to three years.

Trials of Policemen Resume in Pristina, Prizren

AU2206063395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina Kosova Daily Report in English No. 640 on 20 June carries several reports on two "staged trials against 116 ethnic Albanians, former employees with the Kosovo police personnel," who are charged with "having allegedly been involved in establishing a parallel police force in Kosovo."

It is reported that the trial against 72 former Kosovo policemen "resumed" at the Serbian-run District Court in Pristina on 20 June, with the testimonies of eight defendants. The Pristina-based BUJKU reports today that "all the accused denied in full the charges against them," stating that "they had never been involved in any police activities since they were sacked by the Serbian regime five years ago."

BUJKU cites one of the defendants as having admitted that "he was only a member of the independent trade unions of former policemen, which was a branch of the Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo as a legal and dully registered association." The defendant confirmed that "the main purpose" of their trade union branch was to protect the "freedoms of its membership" and added that he had heard of "the alleged Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Kosovo" only after he was arrested by the Serbian police last year.

Other accused persons at the trial "refuted likewise the allegations of the Serbian regime indictment" and "divulged their own stories of torture" they had been subject to during the investigation proceedings. One of them said that, despite "heavy injuries" being inflicted all over his body, he was sent for medical treatment only 20 days later. Another told the court that a Serbian state security officer broke one of his ribs.

Other reports also note that the trial against 44 former Kosovo police employees and municipal officials in Prizren and Suva Reka resumed at the Serbian-run District Court in Prizren today, with the testimonies of the defendants. It is reported that they all denied the charges and spoke about "the savage practices" they were subjected to during the investigation proceedings. One defendant said that the Serbian police took his brother and nephew as "hostage" and beat them up "brutally." Another one said that during his arrest, he was "held tied to an iron cupboard for days," adding that "couples of Serb policemen coming in turns had beaten him successively." Another defendant spoke about "the activities of the independent trade unions of former policemen," noting that "it constituted nothing but a genuine activity the trade unions carry out worldwide, protection of the rights of its members, and solidarity with the most vulnerable ones."

Serb Management Cuts Water Supplies to Pristina

AU2206062895

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina Kosova Daily Report in English No. 640 on 20 June carries several reports providing cases of Serbian police "harassment" and violence against Albanians in various areas in the province.

It is reported that "the Serbian-installed management" of Batllava Waterworks System, which supplies Pristina with water, "cut off water supplies" on 19 and 20 June to "whole quarters and blocks of flats" in Pristina on the grounds that "citizens have not been paying regularly the bills." The local Serbian daily JEDINSTVO is quoted as saying that Serbian authorities have said that cisterns of water will be supplied only to those citizens who "can produce paid bills," including "the disputed 30 dinar tax." The report notes that "the behavior of the Serbian authorities constitutes nothing less than a collective punishment of the people. The conduct of the Serbian regime in Kosovo echoes Bosnian Serb authorities' blackmails towards the Sarajevo city population."

The Serbian police on 16 June detained three Albanians from Malisevo who were reportedly "beaten up severely in connection with alleged arms possession." Sources in Suva Reka say that the Serbian police on 18 June

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

raided the homes of two residents at Grejkovc village and arrested them after the raid. They were both subject to "severe beatings" in connection with "arms searches." One of them had to seek medical treatment afterwards.

It is reported that the Serbian police on the morning of 20 June raided the home of a resident from Mitrovica, harassing him and his family for "a couple of hours" under the pretext of "being in possession of a revolver." The Serbian police on 19 June arrested an activist with the municipal Financing Bureau in Prizren and interrogated and "harassed" him at the police station.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 352
MERRIFIELD, VA.

This is a U.S. Government publication produced by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

FBIS collects, translates, disseminates, and analyzes foreign open-source information on behalf of the U.S. Government. Its publications may contain copyrighted material. ***Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.***

— Bracketed indicators before the first sentence of each item describe the way in which the material was processed by FBIS.

— Headlines and all bracketed explanatory notes are supplied by FBIS.

— Personal and place names are rendered in accordance with the decisions of the U.S. Board on Geographic Names as adapted by FBIS. Unverified names in radio and television material appear in parentheses and are spelled phonetically; words and phrases in parentheses preceded by a question mark are unclear in the original and deduced from context.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

U.S. Government Customers

For a list of FBIS products, to subscribe to an FBIS publication, or to indicate a change of address contact:

FBIS
P.O. Box 2604
Washington, DC 20013-2604
Telephone: (202) 338-6735
FAX: (703) 733-6042

Non-Government Customers

Subscriptions are available from the National Technical Information Service:

NTIS
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, VA 22161
Telephone: (703) 487-4630
FAX: (703) 321-8547

New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.